„Take almaundes blaunched...“ cookbooks in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

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Culinary Art

History and marketing strategies

CrossCulTour Summerschool, Friesach,
September 14 - 17, 2010

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Culinary art - History and marketing strategies

Lectures
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Preface

As part of the EU project CrossCulTour, the Institute of History at the University of Klagenfurt is organizing two "Summer Schools". The first one thematized the issue of culinary art, while the second will focus on the fields of architecture and symbolism.

Now, what is CrossCulTour? The acronym stands for *Cross-Marketing Strategies for Culture and Tourism*. The project is a follow-up of the successful EU initiative TRANSROMANICA and aims at further developing its cooperations and results. However, there has been a small change in focus: While in TRANSROMANICA the Romanesque period was the center of attention, now also other cultural and stylistic epochs are being included – resulting in more cultural specialties of the partner regions becoming objects of promotion and research. Still, the primary aims of the project are preserving and promoting cultural goods and regions by a cross-marketing approach of cultural tourism to maximize the competitiveness of the partner regions, open access to new markets, connect disadvantaged areas with European cultural centers and, as a very important step, to strengthen regional as well as European identity based on common cultural-historic roots.

The main focus of the two "Summer Schools" is always the history of Europe but at the same time also the question of possibilities for improved marketing of the thematized fields of interest in actual and future cultural tourism concepts is being discussed.

Our aim for the Summer School 2010 was to communicate basic historic and cultural-historic knowledge (mainly regarding medieval times) to all participants, to show changes in alimentation through the ages, to demonstrate marketing techniques for medieval food in nowadays tourism as well as to realize medieval recipes in a practical session. The lectures of the 1st Summer School are now available in written form. We hope that everybody interested in this issue will enjoy reading! And – we thank the City of Friesach and the TRANSROMANICA International Association for supporting our event.

Klagenfurt, November 2010 Johannes Grabmayer

Johannes Grabmayer

Basics of medieval history

Term and Epoch

"The Middle Ages" are usually thought to be the time between 500 and 1500 A.D., the epoch between the antiquity and the modern age. However, the exact dates when the Middle Ages began and ended are debatable and, in the end, not determinable. In our contemporary sciences of the humanities the consensus is, that every epoch emerges and ends through slow processes of development and not specific dates; the transition is always a smooth one. Several features, even in different epochs, always coexist parallel to each other. The typical characteristics that define a new era begin to develop side by side with those of the preceding era and smoothly start to dominate them; or fade because of even newer aspects. History is defined through permanent change.

Why are the Middle Ages called "the Middle Ages"?

The term "Middle Ages" that we use was brought up by humanistic linguists. They perceived the period between antiquity and their own time, which was oriented towards antiquity, as the "age in the middle"; as a worthless non-antiquity lying in between. We should never forget that "Antiquity" – "Middle Ages" – "Modern Age" are just artificial divisions. Therefore they should always be open for discussion and correction.

The thinkers of the 16th to 18th century, Rabelais, Vasari, Rousseau, rightly admired the rapid improvements of science in their time. They saw their immediate past, the Middle Ages, as an epoch of stagnation in the sciences, and even as a time where the people knew less than in Antiquity – the Middle Ages were a "dark age". Today we know that these generalizing views of 1000 years of human history might be justifiable in some cases but as a whole they are nevertheless harsh, unsustainable preconceptions. As it is with all other epochs, life in the Middle Ages was changing constantly.

One aspect though, which the critics of this time totally missed, and in which their own view of the world was presented, is quite correct – although they did not mean it that way. The Middle Ages were "dark ages", just like all the other epochs up to the spreading of the electric light in the 19th century. For sufficient artificial lighting, something taken for granted in today's western world, was a real problem in the Middle Ages.

Today the term "Middle Ages", used for an epoch that had its own imprint on history, is overall accepted, maybe also because of the term's openness with regards to content. Through a merging of late antiquity tradition, late antiquity Christianity, and new Germanic carriers a new culture in a new region was created.

Christianity and Europe

The European Middle Ages and Christianity are inseparably connected with each other. In the Middle Ages, Christianity dominates the Occident as sole religion and fundamentally influences all areas of life.

The beginnings of Christianity lie in the darkness of history and are decorated with legends. As it is generally known everything began with the death of the founder of Christianity on the cross. His most devoted followers began to believe that the Crucified rose from the dead on the third day after his death, similar to Osiris and Attis but also Romulus. The first centre of Christianity was located in Jerusalem, the only major city of Judea. Here, the first Christian community was founded. The incidents that mainly motivated them were the crucifixion and resurrection of their saviour Jesus. That way he became similar to the long known Greek-Roman "dying-but-still-living" gods of the past. But Jesus was new, had lived recently, and was historically comprehensible. Over the next decades, the Jewish Saviour was transformed into an entity that incorporated the gods of many different faiths. The independent Christian theory, composed of many different Jewish and Hellenistic elements, finally separated Jesus and the community that was formed in his name from Judaism. Fishers of men, like Paulus, visited most of the larger cities of the Eastern Mediterranean during their extensive missionary journeys and discussed with Jews and heathens, with rabbis, Roman legionnaires and their leaders. Communities of believers were founded because of these deeds in cities of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Their

members were usually Greeks or Hellenistic Jews. And in the middle of the first century, believers of Christ in Antioch called members of their community "Christiani" – partisans of Christ. The first community that called itself Christians was founded. It was no longer a splinter group of Judaism but an independently organized religion, announcing new teachings with members practicing their own rites.

In the course of the Middle Ages, Christianity became dominant in the (not-for-nothing) so called "Christian Occident". It reached the Northern European countries in the 11th and 12th century, the lands north-east of Poland not until the 13th and 14th century. Christianity became so popular because it was realized as a "state religion": The decision to believe in Christ was not made because many individuals wanted to do so or wanted to be converted. Several leaders, Germanic and Slavic counts and kings, decided to become Christians – mostly driven by unemotional political forethought. After choosing it as new religion, the baptism of the whole tribe soon followed. A political community with members of different religions, as it is normal in most of the states in the western world, was not to be found in this epoch. Religion defined the culture of the tribe, from the early medieval Christianity up to the Christianity of the Holy Roman Empire, the *Reichsreligion*. The church grew to become the *Reichskirche*, and for centuries the most important offices were staffed by the descendants of the rulers – at first by sons of the provincial Roman nobles, later on by Germanic and Slavic noble sons. In the first centuries of the Middle Ages, Christianity was highly superficial and many people met their pastor only a few times more after their baptism. It was hard to find a priest who understood his lore and what he was preaching about.

From the High Middle Ages on, when the European population increased vastly, the net of parish churches got tighter, and especially when the churches in cities, via the newly founded mendicant orders like Franciscans and Dominicans, came into contact with the people and not only the nobles, the situation changed fundamentally. But only through reformation and counter-reformation, when clerics began to be systematically trained, the Christian religion was truly embedded in the people's minds. So it would be more correct to talk about the churches than the Christian Middle Ages. From its beginnings, Christianity was a religion mainly for the authorities, therefore the priests' influence on society, economy, politics, law, and culture was stronger during the Middle Ages than during any other epoch.

And then there exists a very sad chapter that is tightly connected to this matter and is often kept unspoken of by the church: Especially in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, groups began to separate from the church to live according to their own beliefs; sometimes the sources even mention atheists. But since churchmen are the keepers of medieval knowledge and memory, this topic is hardly ever mentioned. Certainly there were different forms of belief and even disbelief inside Christianity. Those tendencies increased heavily towards the end of this era. More and more Christians were unsatisfied with the clergy and the official church representatives and tried to represent alternative interpretations of the compulsory religion, rejecting official ones from the church. The trend is clearly visible: reformation and peasant uprisings emerged at the end of the epoch. From the 12th century on, several "counter-churches" like the Waldensians, Catharists, and Hussites were founded. Their followers were mostly condemned, hunted down in unmerciful crusades, and tortured and killed whenever one could get a hold of them. Especially in the cities, the teachings opposing the rich papal church and its officials, promoting a poor church and supporting religious alternatives, were received positively. The veneration of pictures and the cross, as well as taxes for the church were opposed, and the church's buildings were mocked as worthless. Baptism, matrimony, and repentance, singing for the dead, intercession, and chants in general were worthless for those heretics. Some refused the consumption of meat, others demanded chastity and asceticism, and most of them called for an impecunious priesthood. All of them realized the growing difference between the church of Jesus and the papal church and felt it to be unbearable.

But still – the Middle Ages cannot be thought of without Christianity, without the "one true church". It is Europe's blessing and its curse at the same time.

According to Occidental Christians, "the world" was separated into three spheres: the Islam, the evil under the sun, the Byzantine region, which was the lesser evil, although people there spoke Greek, and finally the Occident supported by God. Over centuries, these three spheres have been involved in confrontations again and again, especially on a political level. Just think of the 200 years of crusades, which actually turned out to contribute to a transfer of cultures that influenced Europe drastically. Through Islam, a change in world politics and culture was induced. It shattered the antique Mediterranean world and created a new vast empire that was larger than

its Roman counterpart. This eventually initialized the formation of the Occident. The political centre of Europe began to shift from the Mediterranean to the north, to Germania, and in the 8th century the Mediterranean region as a self-contained cultural area was shattered. These developments induced the birth of Europe but also harmed the culture and economy of the new region and destroyed centuries of knowledge and growth. In the area between the river Rhine and the Seine, the first occidental centre of authority was formed – and it ruled under the cross of Christ.

Several more regions joined in subsequently and the segregation between the French and the German sphere of influence followed. The south of Europe was frequently attacked by the often victorious Islamic armies, which, coming from Africa, conquered the Iberian peninsula, Sicily, and Lower Italy. From the North, the heathen hordes of the Vikings invaded the region of the Franks, England, Italy, and even Moorish Spain. And from the east, the highly mobile Hungarian cavalry approached, not only raiding parts of Germany and Italy but also of France. The 9th and 10th century reports are filled with messages of plundered monasteries and cathedrals, destroyed fortresses, and ravaged villages. Only at the end of the first millennium the Muslim expansion could be stopped, the Norsemen be christianized, and the Hungarians be pacified and compelled to become sedentary.

Around the former Carolingian Europe, a circle of new kingdoms emerged: In the 10th century the Danes, Czechs, and Poles formed states on their own. In the 11th century the Hungarians, Norman England and the Christian kingdoms in Northern Spain consolidated. A calmer epoch dawned. Parallel to that, the climate changed to the better, it became warmer and drier. Diseases, caused by low temperature and humidity, decreased. The high infant mortality rate diminished, life expectancy increased, the population grew. This development was promoted by rich harvests, and by more and better food. The improvement of food was connected to the aforementioned climatic and drastic social and economical changes. City centres emerged, technical and economical innovations shaped the Occidental appearance anew. Sciences started to lay the foundation for the modern European worldview. In the 11th century, the rise of Christian Europe began – slowly at first but then all the faster.

Kingship and the power of nobility characterize the medieval "states". A modern civil service does not exist. The monarch reigns, helped by a group of nobles who give him counsel. By assuming political offices, the nobles expand their prestige and economical wealth. The many peasants, and later on also burghers, are excluded from governance for a long time. The king is the political and to a large extent also religious symbol representing the state. He is the state and at the same time its highest authority. His lordship is bestowed upon him by God; therefore kingship is rather divine right than the will of the people.

What did medieval society look like? How was it structured? Of course, the structure of medieval society, like at any other time, was ever changing. One should never forget that we are talking about 1000 years of history when we discuss the Middle Ages. Most of you may already have heard about feudalism and medieval feudal society. Well, how did feudalism develop? It was a slow, two to three centuries long evolution that finally led to the medieval feudal system. It was highly supported by the decay of royal authority.

In the beginning of this long epoch, there were two classes of people: free men – and their servants. Slavery is known to have existed in the Middle Ages as much as in antiquity; slaves were even important trading goods on the arterial roads of this time. The Germanic words *Slawe* – "slav" and *Sklave* – "slave" originate from the same root because a lot of slaves were "imported" especially from Eastern Europe. This import of slaves I mentioned, also stands in close relation to the martial and predacious manners of barbarians. Usually in spring, warlords summoned their warriors and went on to pillage. After their return in autumn, the loot was divided amongst the heads of the families and the priesthood who handed it down proportionately to the rest of the people. This martial way of living also fundamentally affected society as a whole.

At the top was the king; he was followed by the *primores*, the first of the warriors, who had to gather the other fighters of their region under their banner. The cavalrymen were the elite of the army. They wore emblems, sword and belt, through which they were set apart from the mass of the free men, who were only gathered in their entirety in case of emergencies. This happened for instance when the region was heavily endangered from the outside. In the shade of this

society of warriors lived the unfree, the slaves. They were seen as incapable of bearing arms and could therefore only be forced to go to war. Up to the 9th century, the borders to enemies faded away into the far distance because of the vast extension of the Carolingian Empire. Now the main objective was to secure the own territory from invasions. But the kings could not stop the attacks from outside. Arabs, Hungarians, and Vikings invaded and plundered the Frankish Realm – like the Franks themselves had done earlier. The defence of the land, the most important function of kingship, shifted more and more to regional leaders. They transferred the originally royal privileges to themselves and their families.

To fight off the hostile hordes, towers were erected and garrisoned all across the country. When the attacks of the enemies ebbed away for several different reasons, the warriors' lust for slaughter and plunder got directed to the interior of the country. They did just like they were accustomed to: In spring, the warriors left their secure towers, gathered under the banner of their leader, and went on to fight. But now they did not gather anymore to fight for their king, for the king's power was diminished after decades of disputes concerning the succession to the throne and the following breaking up of the realm. Nor did the warriors fight enemies from the outside: their aggressions faced inwards, against other warriors and especially against the unarmed population. Their leader was no longer a count – because the principalities had crumbled just like the kingdom itself – but a simple gang leader. It was a miserable time. By the hundreds they and their followers subdued peasants to be able to enjoy the life of a monarch. These bandits called themselves *dominus* – a word that was formerly reserved only for God, the king, and high church authorities. The king was no longer the ruler: the true regents of a country were the lords of the castles. However, their factual power was confined to small territories. They commanded, punished, provided peace and justice for their people. The kingship of the 11th century had to helplessly let the powerful warriors act out their greed and bloodlust. The impact this development had on society was a sustained one:

The difference between free and unfree peasants became increasingly insignificant as the new rulers did not care about it; they wanted to exploit everybody. They limited the carrying of weapons only to themselves and their armoured followers. Through these actions, an insurmountable line, dividing the nobility and the people for centuries to come, was drawn with the sword. Together with their abiding helpers, the ruling class suppressed the land and forced the people to

accept the new state of affairs. To maintain fear, the knights patrolled their district, which was usually centered by the fortified tower. All those who lived in this area were subject to the will of the lord of the tower. He brought them peace, which means nothing more than that he left them in peace. For this deed, the people paid him "protection money" in the form of tributes. In the end, the peasants paid for not being allowed to defend themselves and for being betrayed all too often in the case of an emergency. Furthermore, they paid high fines for every petty misdeed. Foreigners who travelled through the area had to pay tolls. In exchange they were allowed to cross the country without being attacked. Just like the loot was once divided among the warriors, the tributes received from blackmailed peasants were now divided among them. Just like the king had given presents to his leaders, now the new lords were generous to their followers. Thus peasants financed the violent parasite-system and the noble way of life of the leaders and their warriors, the heirs to the Frankish riders of the Early Middle Ages. This is Feudalism. The churchmen, whose leaders originated from the militant nobility, fought like their relatives with all means to receive tributes. They legitimized the arbitrary system of exploitation, which only served their relatives, as the will of God and therefore as unchangeable. The highly respected bishop of Laon, Adalbero, for instance wrote in the 20's of the 11th century: "Threefold is the house of God, which we believe to be one: Here on earth there are those who pray, others who fight, and even others who work. Those three belong together and cannot bear to be separated." For contemporaries, this system was part of a God-given, cosmic order, and therefore not to be altered by man. The Occidental human was fully integrated in this system. As it was divine he could not – and did not want to – escape from it. Society was separated into three castes: the warriors, which were formed by the nobility, those who pray, meaning the clergy, and the workers, which were the peasants and later on also the burghers. Now, for generations the property of nobles remained in the hands of one family that, continuously, executed and expanded its power. Noble dynasties developed. There were more or less influential families with bigger or smaller properties. But it did not matter – for they were all leaders, and there was no clear borderline between them.

At the same time, when the nobility was formed as a caste, the peasants were forced into theirs. The whole so-called Feudal system was sustained only by the peasantry, for the Occident was mostly composed of agrarian countries. Hard work under unimaginable

conditions defined the peasant's life. Its main purpose was nourishment and ensuring the survival of the family. Profit was a concept a peasant mostly could not even dream of.

The working day of a peasant's family was oriented in length and in contents on the course of the year. The rhythm of the peasant's daily routine is different from region to region and depends on tradition. However, always all members of a family were included in the working schedule in equal measure. Already at an early age, children were important workers on the farms: They were used for smaller chores and slowly grew into the hard world of the adults. Gender-specific division of labour was mostly unknown.

The *rusticus* in the sources of the 11th century originally combines all non-nobles. But peasants were far from being a uniform group; they were separated by vast differences in wealth. Influential families inhabited a large farmyard with many workers for their fields, whereas a large social stratum formed by lower peasants had to deal with a few poor and meagre farmlands, hardly keeping its head above water. Furthermore, the relationship between a peasant and his landlord varied from region to region. But up to the Late Middle Ages, to the middle of the 13th century, most of the farms had become hereditary and the services for the landlord had changed to monetary payments. For a long time, the peasant duties had been composed of works on the lords' courts and their estates, as well as payments in kind.

After the turn of the millennium, the large social strata "nobility" and "peasantry" were joined by the class of the town dwellers. However, burghers did not exist up until 1100 A.D. The burgher is a product of the fight of the city communities against the lord of the town. At the top of the insurgents were the ministers, the servants of the lord, who strived for independence and autonomy, and the rich merchants. Because of these conflicts, the rights of the city dwellers changed fundamentally. After a long development process, the unfree servants and merchants of a landlord became a closed city community. So after the turn of the millennium, a vast change in the European Feudal system took place.

The city, erected with stones and clay, became the centre of trade of the European countries. "From Krakow Russians and Slavs arrive with their goods, and from the territory of the Hungarians come Mohammedans, Jews, and Turks with wares and coins, to barter them for slaves, tin, and furs", a record reports to us about Prague from around 970. I took this example, Prague, because its development is paradigmatic for the rise of the medieval city. Here, at an important

passage across the river Vltava/Moldau, both the backs of the hills Vyshehrad and Hradshin were suitable for fortifications.

On the Hradshin, the episcopal see was located; it was the predecessor of the later famous St. Vitus Cathedral and the castle church. On the Vyshehrad, the residence of the Bohemian dukes was erected. Evidence exists that near both fortifications settlements of craftsmen and servants were already build at the turn of the first to the second millennium. Close to those settlements markets were held, which were visited by merchants from near and far. However, cities like Prague are rare at this time, especially north of the Alps. Nevertheless, they are harbingers of a new time to come.

The migration of people in the Early Middle Ages had destroyed the Roman system of cities. The cities of the Late Antiquity lost their importance in the course of the Early Middle Ages and their ruins gave shelter to only a few inhabitants. This downfall of the antique city system was especially seen in Rome. The mega city, once harbouring over a million people, was reduced to about 10.000 to 20.000 inhabitants around the year 1000 A.D. Many former famous monuments had become overgrown dumps, now used by Romans to let cattle graze on them. In the Early Middle Ages, other antique cities of the Roman Empire, especially in Upper Italy, recovered after a period of depression. More and more houses were constructed outside of the old walls, near arterial roads and churches. Most of these houses were single story huts made of wood, covered with roofs made of shingles or straw but some were already brick buildings with tile roofs. Suburbs emerged, established by craftsmen and businessmen who had settled down there. But also in and outside of other former Roman cities in Southern Europe, the regions of the river Rhine and the river Danube, in northern Gaul and England, several settlements in front of a city grew together to one area and were then surrounded by a wall. These developments occurred in many places, not only where a connection to an old spiritual-secular centre of reign existed.

The new cities of the Occident grew from totally different preconditions. Often, episcopal sees were their factual origin. Usually the medieval cathedral was located at the periphery of the town, at the location of the former episcopal church from Late Antiquity. A Dome-Castle, like that of Cologne, became the centre of the new settlement that emerged at the border of an antique city. All of these cities were constructed on the base of an antique settlement.

But also pilgrimage churches and monasteries, formerly founded in isolated places far away from any sign of civilisation, became

the base for commercial settlements that developed into towns and cities. A good example for this course of events is the Austrian city of Salzburg. A similar pattern can be observed at the seats of lords, castles, and palaces.

Another element that supported the forming of cities is the market. Already from the Carolingian time there is evidence for many local markets (weekly farmer's markets). The big fairs on the other hand, with merchants arriving from near and far, usually only took place in the cities that have their origin in Antiquity. When their potential did not suffice anymore, economically prosperous regions like Lombardy, Flanders, and Champagne began to organize fairs. But also conveniently situated places near the coast with harbours, crossroads of important trade routes, and fords or bridges across rivers as intersection between water and land routes were used to found cities on. For many cities the proximity to rivers is characteristic.

In the Middle Ages, rivers were heavily used trade routes. Rural roads were usually not more than two to three metres wide, unpaved, and at the most heaped up with gravel. Therefore, medieval roads were usually soaked after rain and hardly accessible. Additionally, repairs of bridges and roads were left to chance and complicated one's journey. Therefore it is not astonishing that many cities emerged near rivers. The combination of many favourable circumstances and positive conditions was essential for the progress of a medieval town.

The emergence and the development of the cities usually started with the sponsorship of the city's lord who realized the economical (but also political) impact of his town, and who wanted to take advantage of it. Between the 11th and the middle of the 13th century, a boom of city founding's occurred. The new cities were easily recognizable because of their systematic layout; but often an already existing settlement was just developed, displaced or expanded. The difference between the historic city centre *(Altstadt)* and the new town (*Neustadt*) can be traced back to this time. However, other settlements remained unaltered and were simply declared to be cities.

One cannot compare the medieval city with the metropolises of Antiquity, the Islamic world or with Constantinople, the world centre of contemporary trade. Nevertheless, the most important social and, at the same time, economical development of the Late Middle Ages is the urbanization of large parts of the Occident's population. The, for centuries, rural occidental community – about 95 % of the whole early medieval population lived in the country – was changed by the rapidly progressing process of urbanization. Around 1500

A.D., already 20% of the population lived in cities. Between 1240 A.D. and 1300 A.D., about 300 cities per year were founded, after that, the process decelerated and finally halted around 1400 A.D.

Around 1300 A.D., there are 50-60 bigger cities in Europe with more than 10.000 inhabitants, 450-500 middle cities with about 2.000 to 10.000, and at least 1000 smaller cities with even fewer inhabitants. In this context one should never forget that no more than 70 million people were living in Europe at this point in history. This means that there were seven people inhabiting one square kilometre. However, historians have to use approximations, because lists with births, death registers, household lists or censuses of population are mostly not available. The larger cities agglomerated in the Mediterranean region, in France only Paris with more than 100.000 inhabitants sticks out. In 1377 A.D., London counted about 40.000 residents. In the German speaking areas only Cologne, with 35.000 – 40.000 inhabitants, is noteworthy.

Because of the vast increase in cities division of labour expanded. Furthermore, the social structure, which was far larger and more instable in cities than on the countryside, was differentiated. According to estimations, the number of professions tripled between the years 1100 and 1300 A.D. Already in the first half of the 14th century, larger cities offered a differentiation in craftsmanship that cannot be found in smaller towns until the 18th century. As a result, more than 6.000 craftsmen including their assistants inhabited Cologne. Craftsmen families formed about 45% of all families in larger cities.

From the High Middle Ages on, with the flourishing of the cities, the feudal system (and also its three-caste idea) became a thing of the past. The cities' social structure differed greatly from the countryside's, as the feudal dependencies ceased to exist. Property is still important, especially for the inhabitants of the many smaller (and smallest) towns but it lost its central economic impact. The time of the merchants, the salesmen, and the craftsmen had come. They were the most important economical but also social and cultural players.

What did the social structure of a medieval city look like? Basically, the city reflected the social structure of the free land. In the beginning, the city was the property of a city lord, a bishop or king, maybe even a count or any other high-ranking noble. The city's upper class can be compared to the leaders of the nobility. It was formed by the ministers of the former city lord, and by the early, rich long-distance merchants. They were tradesmen and bankers, legal practitioners and notaries. But also nobles, who found their home in the cit-

ies, more in the south of the Alps than in the north, and clerics, were part of this privileged group. Up to the 14th century, all cities' offices were held by relatives of this social class that is formed by only 10% of the city's population. They alone were allowed to decide political matters; they alone were "burghers". The membership to this illustrious circle was inheritable but it was also always tightly connected to wealth. For as opposed to today's politics, where young people may join to become wealthy and respected, only wealth enabled the medieval politician to have enough spare time to hold a political office. The cities' middle class was formed by independent master craftsmen, merchants and tradesmen, master builders, and all those who were organized in guilds. The guilds, also called crafts, fraternities, etc., were a typical social, political, and especially economical form of organization of medieval craftsmanship. They came into existence in the 11th century. Guilds are a combination of all craftsmen and merchants of one trade. Their main purpose was to regulate and supervise all matters of professional interest. In the course of time, they became self controlling juridical groups of shared interest. They were the roots of today's clubs and societies, and our insurance industry. They protected themselves from business competition inside their cities and respected the equal rights of all members but also cared for ethics and morale.

The lower class was formed by the simple craftsmen and the "service sector", as one would say today. They worked as menials, maidservants, day labourers and peasants. At the very bottom of the hierarchy were the outsiders of society, those who worked in the dishonest working fields, the beggars and the sick. In some cities, the number of people living below the poverty line exceeded 40%.

So there were an immense number of poor people who were at the bottom of the wheel of fortune, and who had to beg to survive. An area-wide social system, supporting even only the poorest of the poor was unknown: the sick, the old but especially also widows were in desperate need of help. Something comparable to our retirement pension did not exist at this time. Children whose parents had died or simply had left, emaciated countrymen, day labourers without a job, unemployed servants, housemaids, assistants – the cities, growing from the turn of the millennium on, became a melting pot of lost souls. They slept in front of the cities' gates, near the leprosaria, in backyards, at the branches of mendicant orders, under stairways or on the streets and asked for alms. Up to the Late Middle Ages, they became an inherent part of the cityscape.

Because of the general development of society and economy in the 14th century, the cities were confronted with a new problem concerning the poor and beggars. Poverty became a mass problem, the number of beggars increased rapidly; the borderline between beggar, vagabond, and thief became blurred. Now the authorities began to differ between several sorts of begging and to act against fraud: begging of people capable of working was prohibited and punished. This led to calls for the authorities to act. The first municipal regimentations were written. With this, the beggars ceased to be just poor people, whom one gives alms because of Christian charity; now they were a burden for society and a plague to be eliminated. They were pushed to the margin of society.

In the so called High Middle Ages, the time between 1050 and 1250 A.D., parallel and correlating to the development of the cities, economy improved greatly. The population had grown, everywhere settlements and cultivable land increased in number. Especially the number of inhabitants of densely populated areas, like in basins and valleys, rose. Secular and sacral authorities commanded to extensively clear forests and to cultivate regions that had been isolated so far. Parallel to that, commercial activities increased.

The spreading out of monetized economy retroacted on the shaping of farming and supported the orientation of agriculture towards the market and towards money. Domestic farming on the lords' farmyards was gradually abandoned. For a profit share the lands were rented to so called *Meiers*, administrators of small pieces of land or separated in smaller fiefs, sometimes even totally parcelled. The steady increase in population required dynamic cultivation of land and expansion in the cities, as well as an increase in the production of goods. Many peasants now learned how to handle money.

Up until the beginning of the 14th century, population and, connected to that, shortage in land increased, the prices for land and crops rose immensely. The number of small and smallest farmers with not enough land to nourish themselves grew as fast. From 1300 A.D. onwards, the increase in population stagnates and in some parts nearly stops. With the great famine of 1309-1317 A.D. – as the result of a of the climate change to the worse – the demographic climax had been traversed. In 1313 and 1314 A.D., many regions of Europe lamented about bad harvest, scarcely available reserves were consumed. In 1315-1317 A.D., flood-like rainfall further destroyed the crop yield, prohibiting an interregional compensation. Numerous famines and failures of crops were documented at that time. Because of immense

increase in price on staple foods the already instable monetary system was soon destabilized. The number of starved and, because of malnourishment, ill people must have been enormous. Population began to decrease, and after the great Black Death from 1347/48 A.D. on, only 60-70% remained. This great decline in population because of an epidemic is one of the most momentous socioeconomic events of the whole Middle Ages. Around 1300 A.D., about 12-14 million people lived in Germany and Scandinavia together, 150 years later there were only 7,5 million left. Similar calculations for Western and Southern Europe were made. According to those calculations, about 70 million people lived in Europe at the beginning of the 14th century; after the middle of the 15th century only 45-50 million remained. In this period, the lowest point in populace was reached, afterwards it slowly began to increase again.

The Late Middle Ages, especially the second half of the 14th century, were a complicated period for the majority of the rural nobility. Because of the decrease in purchasing power of the formerly fixed nominal interest, reduced interest on natural production, because property had lost its worth and because of the low agricultural prices after the Black Death the nobility suffered heavy losses in their income. Connected to that, the demand for crops, the most important contemporary food, decreased. From the second half of the 14th century on, the corn price steadily dropped, as the supply did not recede parallel to its demand. This period of low prices was to last for more than a century. Peasants tried to adapt to the new situation by implementing specialized cultivation like wine, flax, fruits, and vegetables, and through supporting livestock and dairy farming. Nevertheless, the outcome of this economic development was fundamental, especially for farmers and the relatives of the lower and the middle nobility. For farms were still heavily affected by self-sustaining home economy. Goods of all kind were produced at home, and as opposed to the landlords and the higher nobility, the middle and lower nobility hardly ever possessed any extensive property. Especially this social stratum was affected by the crops depression. At the same time, the cities' rapid growth and – connected to that – the rise of the burghers began to threaten the social reputation and way of living of the middle and lower nobility. Over-indebtedness and impending impoverishment motivated many to obtain additional profit via feuds – robber barony emerged once again. Another alternative, highly dangerous, yet nevertheless connected to great career opportunities, was to become a mercenary. For many members of the

lower nobility, war mongering was the only possibility befitting their rank to achieve not only wealth but also a higher social status. For besides from the merit of winning estates, the leaders of mercenaries also got rights and titles bestowed upon them. Sometimes they found their way into the families of monarchs through marriage, like a few Upper-Italian Condottieri but also like some capable warriors from other regions. However, the borderline between mercenarism and organized gangs often blurred: An example for that would be the Armagnacs, deported to Germany by the French king in 1444, which were a combination of mercenary companies from several different countries.

The situation of the peasants varied from region to region. Many of them – against the will of their landlord – moved into the wealth-promising and, because of the devastating waves of the Black Death and always desolate sanitary conditions, replenishment-seeking cities or into now deserted regions with generally better conditions. The lords on the other hand tried to stop the migration of "their people" through restrictions and intensification of peasant dependency. The better socio-economic situation of the inhabitants of the cities added to the conflict between the lords and their peasants.

The outcome of the medieval rise in population and increase in farmyards was a heavy differentiation of property inside the farming community itself. The number of small and smallest estates increased and day labourers who did not possess any land and who had to earn their living through wage labour and craftsmanship emerged. Farmyards located in better areas, in regions with fertile soil and/or near cities, produced surpluses and gained high profit. This only deepened the social differentiation between the peasants. Already at the beginning of the 14th century, many agricultural businesses opened in prosperous regions like the Paris Basin or near the Upper Italian commercial towns. Their owners did not possess anything but their labour-power. After the end of the 100 Years' War (1453), in the phase of the reconstruction, settlers migrated in large numbers from infertile areas like the Limousin, the Bretagne or Maine to the Paris Basin and the Bordelais, two regions that had been heavily affected by the war. There, new settlements were erected. In the Late Middle Ages, craftsmanship, especially wood and metal processing, became an important economic factor. But also the highly varying inheritance law added to the societal splitting-up of the peasantry. Landlords often used the members of the peasant upper class as reeves, debt collectors or judges, and as village chiefs and members of the village's law

court. The owners of medium-sized estates and the many small-scale farmers, whose lands barely nourished them and their families, lived besides them. Generally speaking, the level of living of most peasants was very low between the Early and Late Middle Ages. The landlords burdened them and the peasant income was meagre.

So the cities began their triumphal procession in the High Middle Ages. The structure of economy was changing; market economy became increasingly interesting. Only that way the new plurality of economic relationships could be organized. From the 12th century on, money regained its importance, and in the final phase of the Middle Ages trade and monetarism became characteristics of the economic system. The skyrocketing demand for coins – for centuries there had only been one coin, the *Denarius* (Penny/Pfennig) – was satisfied through the foundation of new mints.

Tightly connected to the upswing of trade is the improvement of the traffic system. Important arterial roads that were nevertheless highly dangerous for all travellers, connected the European centres of trade. The routes used were: the old transcontinental country ways, the ancient roads to France built by the Romans, the alpine routes across the pass of St Gotthard and the Brennerpass, the Tauern-route from Salzburg across the Alpine Main Ridge to Venice but also rivers like the Rhine and the Danube, as well as several channels and routes on the sea. At the beginning of the 14th century for instance, Bordeaux shipped 700.000 hectolitres of wine to England. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 15th century, Cologne became the centre of the North-West European wine-trade with annual sales of 100.000 hectolitres.

In the 12th century, the fairs of Champagne became the pivot point of the trading route Netherlands – Italy – Orient. Later on, they were replaced by Bruges and, from the 16th century on, Antwerp, which became the new North-South commodity market. Especially silk, leather goods, cotton, and Egyptian mandrake, spices and drugs, colorants, tropical fruits, and other luxury goods were traded. In the 14th century, the cities of Flanders and the Upper German cities, as well as the Hanseatic cities became important. From the 13th century on, the *Hanse* dominated the northern European market. It was a German federation of merchants; Hamburg and Lübeck were its first members, later on several other cities joined. At the end of the 14th century, Upper Germany, with Frankfurt, Nuremberg, and Augsburg as its main players, became an important economical factor, focusing on the metal and textile industry. Britannia, with its largest harbour

London, became more and more independent; on the other hand, France exported mainly agricultural products that were shipped from its Atlantic harbours, with Bordeaux and La Rochelle being the main ports. In Italy, Venice began to become a rival for Flanders, Portugal, and England, with its lucrative spice trade across the Levante. Genoa controlled large parts of the trade in the Black Sea and around Africa. But also Florence and Milan became important centres of trade. Parallel to the rapid increase of long-distance trade, the trading system itself developed, and the coinage system got split up into many individual currency districts. The area of validity of the respective coin soon ended at the borders of the lord minting it.

The tight borders required the frequent changing of the coins to a valid currency. The landlords earned considerably well with the charges levied. Travelling merchants helped themselves with silver bars, which they cut into pieces and changed for coins according to their weight. Banking began to develop. In the beginning, there were the *cambiatores* or *bancherii*, men who sat on a bench in front of a house or on a street and who earned money with transactions. At first, they only changed money but they soon expanded their range of services and offered deposits and endorsements. From the beginning of the 13th century on, starting out in Italy, golden trade coins made were minted to stop the constant degradation of coins. From 1252 A.D. on, the Florentine gold guilder, also called Florin after the city arms of Florence, the lily, which was stamped on one side of the coin, was minted. Its normal weight was 3,54 g and it was made out of nearly 24-carat gold. Soon, it was widely used and also copied in many parts of Europe. The first to copy the Florin were the Venetians in 1284 A.D., when they introduced the Venetian gold-ducat. However, the general coin-crisis of the Late Middle Ages could not be stopped through these measures, and also the founding of "coin-clubs" by trading towns and several lords remained fruitless.

Economy always needs large sums of money and loans. For the contemporaries, the typical loan creditors were the Jews. From the 12th century on, Jews were excluded from long-distance trades, which they had been dominating for centuries, therefore business with money and pawn broking became their main source of income. However, Judaism never was totally reduced to these lines of business. The counterpart to Judaism was the Catholic Church that wanted to reduce money to its most vital function: barter. Credit business was seen as usury, Christian moral theologians ostracised this branch like no other.

And so the distain for a "dirty business" and the hatred for a religion, whose members killed Christ, connected with social fear, combined with the latent poverty of this time and, resulting out of that, poor payment behaviour created the base for the incredible contempt against Jews and their prosecution. It is irrelevant that Christian usurers were often worse than their Jewish pendants. And it is also irrelevant that merchants from Lombardy or from Southern France asked for way larger interest from their debtors than Jews did.

The world trade of this epoch was firmly in the hands of Arabs. Arabic long-distance merchants knew the world like no one else. They followed the directions of the commodity flows everywhere and travelled to the most remote areas of the world; also to the Occident, the third world of the Early and High Middle Ages. In the High Middle Ages however, the conditions of world trade changed in favour of the Occident. In the 11th century, the Italian coastal towns snatched the naval supremacy away from the Arabs. The emperor of Byzantium, with its capital city Constantinople, the centre of world trade, was forced to sign a contract with Venice which ensured the lagoon-city free trade inside of the borders of Byzantium. In the Near East, along the North African coast, and – in the 13th century – even on the Black Sea coast, Italian trade-colonies were founded. Europe's long-distance trade turned towards the Mediterranean. But also the founding of crusader states, around 1100 A.D., added drastically to the vivification of the traffic route between the Levant, the coastal regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, and Western Europe. Traffic between Northern and Southern Europe increased rapidly and so did shipping and trade on the Atlantic coast.

Soon, the travelling long-distance merchant was a thing of the past. He was replaced by the city-based merchant who did business on different markets through his travelling assistants or associates. While sitting in his office in his hometown, he directed the flows of commodity; his goods were properly insured. The merchant gave orders via written instructions and kept book of every transaction. Most of the time he already made cashless payments using credit letters. His aims were clearly defined: With God and his holy help, as much profit as possible had to be achieved. Companies and societies that worked with external finances emerged; the putting-out industry began to spread out. Craftsmen were provided with raw materials by the merchant, who then sold the completed product. With this, an important preliminary stage of the system of manufactory was reached. While the merchants often earned horrendous profits,

the craftsmen usually ended as seasonal workers. Out of the cities' economy, the high finance grew, being in a tight relationship with the contemporary leaders. The temporary, partly even constant dependence of powerful members of the high nobility on the cities' money aristocracy is an eloquent expression of the medieval situation of financing.

Rich city dwellers, like the merchant dynasties Fugger and Welser from Augsburg, invested large sums in mining. The Fugger for instance rented mines in the Alps, in Hungary, in Spain. The phase of colonization of the High Middle Ages had led to a conditional increase in mining; larger technical and economical improvements however were only made from the middle of the 15th century on, when the latent lack of metal forced the merchants to actively dig for more resources. Adit mining of former times was conducted more frequently; improved deep mining made new areas accessible, old areas re-accessible and granted the merchants more profit. Now, emanating from the Bohemian-Saxon *Erzgebirge* (Krušné hory), technical innovations allowed for a better utilization of ore bodies. Mine shafts and freight lifts enabled the miners to dig deeper into the mountains, resulting in higher hauling capacity. Technical innovations, the utilization of hydraulic power etc., resulted in larger profits. Thus, around 1500, about 100.000 pounds of silver were mined in Europe. At the same time, the work organization changed– very much to the disadvantage of miners and smelters. In smaller mines it was common that these workers were able to act independently on their own, which was now simply not possible anymore. The downfall of most of them into the pit of dependant wage labour granted for social explosives.

Judiciary

There were two large and coexisting medieval legal systems: secular law and church law. Secular law was regionally and socially extremely inconsistent. Even medieval contemporaries found their jurisdiction to be confusing, unclear, and unreliable. Factors that affected the judicature were the caste one was in, whether one was a layman or a cleric, a man or a woman, a noble or a peasant etc. Verdicts varied, and so did the punishments. Free contemporaries were able to expiate nearly all offences via payments. In the Early Middle Ages it was furthermore important to which tribe one belonged. Everybody

lived after the law of one's tribe, even in front of courts of justice in other tribes' territories. Highest aim of jurisdiction was keeping the peace through the prevention of blood vengeances and feuds – a bold but hopeless venture. For violence was accepted as a natural means of restoring order and justice if other means had failed. And all too often, especially the courts failed. When personal advantages were at stake, no stone remained unturned. Then the whole land got ravaged, people were tortured, mutilated, killed. These periods of extreme violence often lasted for years – until the adversary was dead and the land and its inhabitants were exsanguinated.

A "police", in the modern sense of the word, did not exist throughout the Middle Ages. In the German language, this word first appeared in 1464 A.D. However, the *Fronbote*, the beadle, had a quite similar function: He was responsible for the arrest and the imprisonment of criminals. He had to cite the opposing parties before the court, was in charge of summoning the accused, and sometimes even carried out the death penalty. Furthermore, he served as an oversight capacity and as a tax collector. His social rank varied from region to region, from highly regarded to greatly loathed.

Vigilantism is a daily occurrence in those insecure times. Distaste for everything that had something to do with courts was high – and justified. The implementation of law depended directly on the power of the king, who mostly was far away. Therefore, he appointed substitutes, counts, who in turn assigned lower magistrates to administer the law. These magistrates were often helpless, sometimes corrupt, and mostly incapable of fulfilling their duties. As a result, legal disputes were fought out among one anotherand without calling for the authorities.

In the 11th century, Italy began to reinstall the late-antique Roman law, in Germany it was not accepted up until the 15th and 16th century. When the German tribes started to dissolve from the 12th century on, the German state laws emerged. Now, not the affiliation to people but rather to the respective lordship was decisive. Through administrative praxis and jurisdiction, a new, territorial common law originated, and soon territorial legislation took the upper hand. Parallel to that, cities and several institutions created their own districts of law. In Germany, it was impossible to abandon the many territorial laws. It took a long time for the Reich to implement a unified legislation, and also the *Königsgericht*, the "king-as-court" was no alternative. Neither did this system have a fixed organization, nor a permanent residence, as the German Reich did not have a capital

(unlike France with Paris or England with London). Formally, the *Königsgericht* was the highest court of justice but it never really influenced jurisdiction.

Since the reign of Charlemagne, the secular courts had been separated into high and low jurisdiction. Cases for the high jurisdiction were exclusively crimes that were punished with mutilation or death, for instance: murder, aggravated assault, theft, robbery or the like. But also cases concerning the freedom of a person or basic property were debated here. The low jurisdiction was concerned with all minor offences. Competence also depended on caste and occupation of the people involved. From the 12th century on, when corporal punishment and death sentences increased, the higher court of justice was seen as a blood court (*Blutgericht*). The act of bestowing a region with the right to form a blood court became an important element of the ministration of laws and justice in the German Reich.

In the Reich, the reception of Roman legislation took decades. The home law, essentially being of Germanic roots, was discussed to and fro. Instead of leaving judicature to respected personalities who could rely on their experience, more predictable jurists were trained and used. The type of the old administrative officer was replaced by a newer, more rational one who had studied law for five years. Writing found its way into the judiciaries and slowly but steadily displaced the old laws of gestures and symbols, the orally established common law. With the new criminal law, many new punishments were integrated into the judiciary. Most of them are corporal punishments and death penalties. But also the monstrous inquisitorial trials and torture as a legal means of ascertaining the truth are children of the Roman law.


TRANSROMANICA
KUWI

Bernd Fuhrmann

Cultural History of the Middle Ages

All sorts of items can be named as subjects in the discussions of the New Cultural history, and the beginnings of this element of history can be dated back into the 1970s and 1980s. But the totality of the New Cultural History can't be determined by addition of their items. And one concrete object for Cultural History can't be named, too, according to new theories.[1] But I think, Cultural History means at first the living conditions of people, their ordinary weekdays, their daily routines, their work and incomes, and so on. Common good for cultural historians is the inclusion of soft factors in their examinations and their studies, in the analysis of traditional fields of research with new questions. For today, I limit myself to economic developments, to the social structure of society, to housing conditions, and some words regarding familiy. Geographically, the focus will be on Central Europe with outlooks to other European regions.

The Middle Ages as agrarian Society

In spite of all innovations in commerce, craft and trade, the Middle Ages were an agrarian society. For the vast majority of people, a peasants' live remained formative. In the early Middle Ages, in western and middle Europe the manor+ system or the manorial economy began to dominate, it started in the 6th century in the territories of France, mostly in the form of a bipartide manor. It consisted of a manor with dependent peasants' farms, and the free owners had to give tributs and perform statute labour. Dependent peasants, not slaves as in the Roman Empire, who had to work exclusively for their masters, are found at the same time. From the late 8th century to the 10th, a standardization of tributes and taxes follows – and also an alignment of the legal status of the rural population. The number of free people declines drastically. And the combination of growing of cereals with the breeding of cattle was a specific feature of the Caro-

1 Daniel, Kulturgeschichte, p. 345–358.

lingian manor system, for which we can find no counterpart in other regions of the world.

Great manors of kings, of the church, and the nobility also possessed a large number of craftsmen, which produced everyday household essentials, and in addition frequently featured breweries and weaving. Since the 8th century, maybe before, the three-field system begins to enforce, with the seperation of winter (rye, barley, oats), and summer crop, and the fallow land. Instead of the hook, which only scratched the floor, increasingly heavy wheeled plows came up, which reached deep and turned the floes. Nevertheless, simple wooden equipment dominated, and the cultivation of the land was still hard work. The number of water mills in particular increased significantly.

Mainly in coastal regions and high mountains with a focus on livestock, people could consider themselves free peasants. Highlands, such as the Black Forest or the Bavarian Forest were colonized, the inaccessible Massif Central in France saw an increasing number of settlements in the years up to 1300. For a long time, the forests seemed impenetrable like a jungle, wild animals lived in them (like bears and wolves), and people looked at the forests with fear.

Even in the 10th century, the growth of population began and lasted until around 1300, accompanied by favorable climatic conditions. It became warmer, and the average temperatures were higher than today's. The longer growing seasons led to increased crop yields, and the fields were located in higher regions, too. The colonization of the highlands further increased, while also the "Ostsiedlung", the settlement of the east, began. Western European forms of farming and settlement reached this regions. Permanent settlements in the Eastern Alps moved up to a height of 2.000 meters in the 13th century.

The beginning of the dissolution of the manor system in France can be dated into the 10th, or maybe the 11th century, and this led to a long-term structural change. Despite many regional differences and special developments, we can state that the self-manorial economy significantly lost importance, personal connections of peasants to their masters relaxed and forced labor was substantially reduced. The rural economies gained independence, especially in fixed lease charges and the lack of force labor; the work was more rewarding for the peasants. Incidentally, it was usually the compulsory labor, that led to disturbances during the late Middle Ages again and again.

However, there was a large number of small farms, which could barely secure survival, and farmers there did not produce for the markets. We can speak of signs of an improvement for a transition from a poor to a less poor live. In general, the cultivation of cereals increased until the 14th century, while the livestock industry declined, but it lacked much-needed manure. Fertilizer is a product of the 19th century, and not until this time the grain harvest reached a continously high level. Droppings were not a waste, but a commodity. In the late Middle Ages, harvest was primarily done with sickles, because the grain losses were less significant using this tool than using a scythe.

Combined with these changes was the emergence of the village. The process of village formation took place predominantly in the 12th and 13th century, dominated by settlement on genetic factors, namely by the expansion of village lands and the formation of great fields with organized crop rotation sequence. Only through this innovation, village communities with coercive fields and the division of the three large fields could exist. After this, the individual rotation of crops was prohibited, and the village community adopted fix rules for the use of arable land and the commons, which were valid to all the peasants in the village. Even common tasks such as the installation of roads or paths, and fences, the establishment of boundaries of the municipial area, the use of common facilities as wells and houses for baking contributed to the development of rural communities. Disputes between the villagers could be judged by the community in many cases but the composition of the village courts and the noble part in them differed strongly. The villages, surrounded by a fence, formed a special area of peace.

However, the social differentiation in the villages increased in the late Middle Ages, and often the percentage of peasants with small farms and people who lived under the poverty level like domestics or day-laborers amounted to more than 50 percent. This stood in contrast to the small upper class, from which the village leaders were selected. They were the members of the village court, exercised functions in the scope of law and in the administration of the manor, and they were the houlders of the largest farms with partially numerous servants. In addition, they took a greater demand on the common fields, because they drove more cattles onto the common meadows. They could sell their products on the markets, and used their profits to enlarge their farms or give loans to poorer peasants.

While since the 12th century the regionalization process came to a halt, the contours of late medievals states were visible on the horizon. On the lower level, small government districts came into being, which surrounded just one or a few villages or localities but in those, the masters made a vigorous territorial claim. These claims were small independent dominions of the lower nobility or subordinate adminstrative districts of great estates. That's why the village association had a cooperative and a manorial part.

The drastic drop in population by the mid-14th century as a result of the plague, the Black Death, led to a decline of cereal farming. Now, special crops became important and livestock numbers increased for the first time since the early Middle Ages. Many flocks of sheep grazed in England and on the Iberian Peninsula, where merino sheep provided particularly fine wool. The labor-intensive vine yard was extented again but in contrast to southern Europe, it was a monoculture in climatically favorable areas. Higher quality wines for export also needed a good traffic infrastructure. In some regions, farmers specialised in dye plants (madder, red; Waid, blue), and fruit and vegetable gardens could be found in greater numbers, also the hops growing claimed more space.

Additionally, the fallow in the three-field-system was used for vegetable gardening, like the growing of legumes as food or of sweet peas as a good feed for the horses. Whether the life of the peasant population was better after the plague than before, is one of many questions that can not really be answered. Storms, thunderstorms or hail still threatened the harvest; the wine-growing also was hampered by freeze damage. Mostly regionally limited famines were part of the life experience until the 19th century. But fish farming and pond economics in the Empire, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia served as a steady source of income for institutions of the church, for nobles, and citizens.

Increasingly rural labor markets developed, on one hand for longer employed farmhands and maids, on the other hand for wage workers or day laborers. The involvement of women and children in rural work was common, and the young had to work, for example, as a pig herder for a few months a year. Especially during grape and grain harvest, laborers were employed in large numbers because the work had to be done within a short time. Daily wages, as far as the few sources tell us, were to be negotiated each year. Generally, activities with challenging and physically demandings were paid best, and therefore women are found mostly in the lower third of the wage

spectrum. Longer-term work as a farmhand or a maid secured next to the money wages after all meals and accomodation – an important feature in a society with so many shortcomings. In Austria, urban citizens cultivated their wineyards in the late Middle Ages totally through paid work but because of the high fluctuation of workers with disadvantages for the quality.

In addition to water, timber was the energy source and was used for buildings, ships, tools for craftsmen and household, and as firewood. In autumn, the forests were used as cow and swine pasture and they were needed for beekeeping, too. Some cities, such as Venice, Paris, or Nuremberg possessed peri-urban forests. But where no adequate urban forest ownership was available, the trunks had to be transported over long distances. For example, Cologne got wood over the Rhine and its tributaries from the Black Forest and the Swiss Jura, and huge formations of rafts had to be steered down the Rhine. Flanders, with its lack of forests, covered its tremendous demand through the Hanseatic trade in the Baltic Sea and Norway, while Hamburg's ships transported wood to the southern Netherlands, after it had been floated down the river Elbe.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, wooden houses still dominated the city and village scenes, and the construction of one timber house of a town dweller needed 12 to 36 logs of oak, the roof of a church 300 to 400. In the late Middle Ages, barrels, mostly produced of oak, were the means of transportation, and many craftsmen manufactured objects made of wood. This includes the vast majority of kitchen crockery, such as plates, bowls, and spoons. The firewood consumption for production and household was high, and the salt production had an enormous energy requirement, as had mining and metallurgy, that became more important after 1400. In Mediterranean countries, salt could be obtained from the sea in salt marshes – but not in central Europe with its lack of sunshine.

By 1300, a Dominican in Colmar noted that the forests had been reduced; and this is one of the few remarks regarding the perception of nature in this time. The coexistence of overexploitation and an excess of use first appeared near the cities, and since the 13th century forest regulations were established. In 1282, Venice banned the cutting of pine trees in the surrounding arera, and the council of Nuremberg took the same initiative in 1294. In the forests of Nuremberg, Peter Stromer the elder in 1368 for the first time realized the artificial sowing of conifers – almost a reforestation programme. This method was often imitated but Nuremberg fir, spruce and pine

seeds were quite popular in Europe. The extensive deforestation of the late Middle Ages in parts of central Europe also resulted in a lowering of the water table, and in dry summers this could lead to crop failure. But, of course, this connection was not to be discovered by the contemporaries.

Life in the Cities

Now I will dicuss briefly the living in cities. In Central Europe, although there were several Roman cities and settlements, which continued to exist, we can't speak of a continuity from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. For Vienna, there is no continuity, too, although there was a remaining stock of settlement. In Trier or in Mainz, residents in the early Middle Ages cultivated wine or vegetable gardens inside the walls, and in the cities only a fraction of the population remained. Edith Ennen judged that urban life did not survive as a way of life so that we can only speak of a continuity of ruins. In Italy, however, the cities remained centers, and northern Italy and Flanders in the high and late Middle Ages were the areas with the highest urban density. In these territories, the big cities were located but we can also name others like Paris, London or Naples.

Only since the late 10th and 11th century, Central Europe saw a revival of the cities but the privileges were given to the masters of the settlements, not to the inhabitants. Special features of Germany were the imperial cities, focussing on the southern half of the Empire, which were under the direct reign of the kings for a while. But apart from paying taxes they could reach a quasi-autonomous status since the second half of the 13th century. The same applies to cities such as Cologne, Straßburg, Augsburg or Basel, which were able to pour off the rule of the bishops. Moreover, they became centers for a rudimentary administration of the local area, and its stately penetration; in addition, this compressing rule. This complains the sometimes substantial competion between the territorial lords in the elevation or, but rare, the foundation of cities. ???

Mostly, however, medium and small cities prevailed, and not all city residents were personally free. Well until modern times, cities depended on migrants from the countryside to at least keep their population. While the number of inhabitants in 15th-century-cities increased, the influx was often restricted. Specialists such as gunsmiths, however, had no problems to settle in another town. Particu-

larly in large cities, many non-citizens had a much worse legal status but maybe even for these inhabitants life was better than the one they would have led in the countryside.

Looking back, in the 13th century the transition from the inheritence of communal leadership to a social stratification with several characteristics began. We can name some criteria: participation in power, self and external assessment, profession, honorary mention but also increasing importance of property and wealth. Another status feature were clothes, since the city magistrates started to adopt dress regulations, which demonstrated the social status. A capital accumulation, however, was primarily possible through long-distance and wholesale trade. But many traders or trading companies failed, a fact we can't overlook, and next to winners there were social and economic losers.

Several models describe the social structure of the cities but non of them convinced entirely. Relatively flexible is the suggestion of Erich Maschke, with its three- or fourfold division of the society in an upper, an upper middle, a lower middle, and the lower class. Members of the upper class were the political leading merchant families; some of them lived as rentiers. Other merchants could be become part of this class but normally they needed a specific property. The upper middle class contained more merchants and craftsmen engaged mainly in commerce, the lower middle class the majority of the craftsmen. The remaining, heterogeneous population was the lower class.

Jews and the clergy possessed a special status based on religion, and Max Weber marked the clergy as an inconvenient and unassimilable foreign power[2]. Also, the work of women and young persons was far-spread in the cities to supplement the meagre income of the families. Under normal circumstances, the income of day laborers was enough to survive but savings could hardly be made, since this money was often needed in winter (as the time of frequent unemployment).

In most cases, members of the upper class formed the municipial councils and determined the fortunes of the city, depending on the degree of its autonomy. The beginnings of the rule of the councils can be dated to the 13th century. By and by, the councils took over the rights that originally had been occupied by the master of the town, like the protection of peace, the statute law or the tax law, and

2 Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, p. 795 f.

others. Normally, the cities paid an annual lump sum as tax to the master of the city, in some cases they had to give an extraordinary tax. In addition to direct taxes, the residents had to pay indirect taxes, which often contained wine and beer. In many towns, the master participated in the indirect taxes. In the inner city riots, economically important citizens aimed at participation in the political rule, and by the end of the riots, members of such families often became part of the circle of the councillors. Modern democratic ideas were alien to the inhabitants of the cities; the hierarchical structure of society was out of question.

Since the end of the 14th century, a slow change in relation to poverty and especially to the poor people can be observed. For centuries, the granting of alms to beggars was seen as pleasing to God and as a way to reach salvation but now the assessments of city authorities' changed. Now the needings of beggars or paupers had to be reviewed, and sickness, old age, or the death of the breadwinner were recognized as causes for grants. Beggars able to work should do so but the question of work opportunities mostly wasn't asked: a problem existing until today. And not only the high number of foundations for the benefit of the poor showed that these new ideas encountered a marginal resonance. Major changes came up in the 16th century, mainly and at first in protestant regions.

The paving of the streets was spreading in the 14th century, and in the following century this road surface became the rule in urban areas. The city councils had local residents pay some of the costs, since they directly profited from the construction project. At least, less dirt found its way into the houses, while the unpaved streets had often been soaked and muddy after rainfall but dusty in the sunshine. However, there is much to indicate that before the streets were paved, there had been wood mountings (boards) and sand.

The supply with water was also a central task, and public wells may be as old as the respective city but they existed in large numbers only since the 14th century. At first, draw wells dominated but they were later replaced in part by fountains, which were connected with water pipes. For the pipes, the craftsmen used trunks, which they bored in length and connected them with iron sleeves. Also water from neighboring springs or rivers could be led into the towns but the pipes had to be camouflaged well or in the case of a siege the water supply could easily be interrupted. The water quality in the late Middle Ages was probably better than in later centuries, because of the small population and relatively little waste.

But in the cities, sewer holes could disturb the underground water. The quality of water could only be tested by taste, smell, and appearance. Drainage sytems for water and rubbish were mostly combined with the road paving as gutters. Covered drains were also known but they were probably less common. These systems had to be surged with enough water in order to fulfil their functions. Even traffic accidents in the cities were not unknown, and Burkard Zink reported that he had to leave Augsburg in fear of the familiy of a boy, whom he had ridden down and hurt.[3]

A leading category of political action was the common good, the public interest (bonum commune), which had to be considered when the councils made decisions. Of course, the term can be interpreted very differently, and there also were loopholes between theoretical considerations and practical implementation. Prerequisite in any case was the inner peace of the city, which had to be preserved. And earlier than the territories, the cities intervened in the lives of the inhabitants with regulations, in order to ensure the peace.

Economy and Trade

In the early Middle Ages trade decreased but it never stagnated. Also, in the area of later Germany and Austria, long-distance trade can be ascertained, referring to spices and other luxury goods from the Mediterranean countries. The Avar-Slav opening of Eastern Europe to the Adriatic Sea since the 6th and the 7th century interrupted the trade road through the Balkans to the Black Sea and also the old connection to the Baltic Sea on the Amber Road. Now, the foreign trade from the Baltic Sea had to be diverted on the mouth of the Rhine, over the Meuse and the Seine to the Rhone and on to the Mediterranean coast. The conquest of the southern Mediterranean by the Islam and its advance onto the Iberian Peninsula led to temporary blockades of the sea. But the trade with the eastern Mediterranean wasn't stopped, and here Syrians, Jews, and Greeks played an important role as merchants.

In addition to professional distance traders like Jews (whose freedom of movement and religious position were protected by royal privileges), the caravan trade of the big landlords played an important role. Sources tell us, that Frankish monasteries could import

3 Burkard Zink, p. 127.

wine from their southern estates, such as oil, spices and other Mediterranean products without paying duties. In the old roman places, trade became important again, just as on the coasts of the North and the Baltic Sea. And here so called emporiums developed, where merchants and craftsmen settled permanently. Next to luxury goods, the local traders sold wine, cloth, metal, and cereals; from the east mainly came furs, wax, honey, and finally slaves. In the inland areas, markets in a convenient location played an important role. We can assume a preference for the transport by ship as opposed to land traffic, although shipping on the high seas seems to have been avoided. The Normans and the Vikings were not just murderers and warriors, as the clerics described them but traders as well, and they reached Novgorod, Kiev and even Byzantium, from where brocades, jewelry, silk, wine, drugs, and spices entered the commercial circuit. The Norman ships with low draugth were suited for both sea and river trips.

We draw our knowledge about the reputation of the merchants primarily from clergymen, and their verdict was negative. Augustine called their activities sinful, because it was associated necessarily with fraud. Later, Isidore of Seville warned of their dishonesty. The clerics characterized the long-distance traders as robbers or pirates, too. In the late Middle Ages, we can see a change in the assessment of the merchants. Now the idea existed, that the merchants did trade in order to support their families and to give alms. The trading profit could be legitimized by transportation costs, refining, storage costs, and transportation risk, and the merchants transported goods from the distance into needy regions. However, one theoretical and practical problem remained unsolved for the theologians in the late Middle Ages, namely the condemnation of usury and the impossibility of a demarcation between this and legal profit. Theologians continued to paint the picture of usurers in hell in the most vivid colors.

This is, where the thesis of Jacques LeGoff inserts, that says that the emergence and the proliferation of the idea of a purgatory was based on the merchant's fear of hell, and the search for a way out of this pain. Purgatory as a temporary punishment reduced the risk, and now letters of indulgence became significant, because the centuries and milleniums in purgatory could be shortened by donations and religious works. Many firms or trading companies had an account for the Lord, and so a portion of the profits went to the needy as alms or, for example, to hospital foundations.

The prohibition of usury is clearly recorded but an ecclesiastical ban of interests has not been proven. So it was argued that time was in God's hands and not in the hands of people, and therefore they couldn't deal with time. However, especially in rural areas, and this was the normal case in Europe, monasteries functioned as lenders very early. In 1425 finally, the church legitimized the buy back bonds and thus credit.

In the 13th century, the trade with bulk goods became common, the same is true for the transition from travelling to sedentary merchant traders and the use of written records and orders in business. This was often called a commercial revolution. In addition, numeracy and knowledge of the circulating coins were conditions for success; a positive effect came from foreign language abilities. The development of the deposit money in the form of bills or endorsements increased the commercial capital and helped to expand trade; early forms dated in the late 12th century in some cities of northern Italy. Rationalisation of business operations through literacy, the use of factors, which partially were bound to the instructions of the merchant, and trans-spatial trade across Europe were now the characteristics of long-distance trade. In northern Italy, in Flanders and in southern Germany, trade companies came into being, in the North the Hanseatic league began to rise.

In the 12th and 13th century, the Champagne fairs were extremely important for international trade; they took place in four cities on six dates throughout the year. Here, Italian merchants met their counterparts from northwestern Europe. We can recognize innovations such as the coordination of dates, the combination of commercial fair and money business – even in the Champagne, at first the Italians dominated the credit business –, the guarantee of a stable value coin, extensive security for the merchants on arrival and departure, low market duties, free trade for the guests among each other, and the formation of an independent jurisdiction of trade. For the Champagne fairs (as for later ones) the separation of a commercial and a billing period was typical. During the latter, the merchants cleared their mutual demands, and this allowed the reduction of the demand for cash. More fair systems could be found in South East England, in Flanders, at the Lower Rhine, in the region of Frankfurt (the Frankfurt fair was to become the most important in late medieval *Reich*), in the Danube region around Nördlingen and Linz, in Southern Italy and along the River Po. However, with the market stabilization in the 14th and 15th centuries, many fairs became unneces-

sary, since it was now possible to do business in the cities throughout the entire year.

The most important player in southern European trade was Venice, which in the Levante trade pushed back Genoa since the 13th century. The lagoon city featured a permanent fair supported by stack compulsion, salt trade, and the development of local commerce, such as shipbuilding, textiles, glass, and metal products. Since 1231, in Venice the trade was controlled by an organisation of brokers under municipal supervision, and therefore the trade between foreign merchants and Venetian traders fell under local authority. The foreign merchants had to pay fees to the city treasury. In return, Venice guaranteed weights and measures, and in part the qualitity of the products offered. The foreign traders were housed in special buildings. So the German merchants had a home, warehouse and department store next to Rialto Bridge since 1222/25, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (the Venetians saw most of the merchants, which came from the north and especially from north of the Alps as Germans). Increasingly, the Venetians tried to monopolize the lucrative trade with spices from the distant and largely unknown Asia on the coast of the Levante. Venice was one or *the* center of world trade – of course, only of the world known at that time.

But what were the main trading goods? Wool or linen cloths of varying quality were produced all over Europe but high-quality products came from only a few areas. Products of all qualities reached the markets but mostly the expensive and heavy cloths were transported over long distances. Two of the main regions for the production of luxury wools were Brabant and Flanders, then, in the course of the 14th century, Tuscany with Florence as a center, and also with Prato, Siena, and Volterra to be mentioned. According to information provided by Giovanni Villani in the middle of the 14th century, out of the approximately 100,000 residents of Florence no less than 30,000 were associated with cloth production. But the process from purchasing the raw products to the sale of finished products was controlled by about 200 wealthy merchants. Silk, another luxury material, was produced mainly in northern Italy. While at the beginning of the 14th century, Lucca was its center, about 150 years later Venice, Bologna and Florence dominated the production of silk fabrics.

Another Middle Eastern material was fustian; the name is a loanword from the Arabic, and the production of fustian began in the middle of 12th century in Sicily and after 1200 in northern Italy. Fustian, as a mixed fabric of cotton and linen had several advantages:

Unlike linen, the fustian is fluffy and soft to the skin, it warms in winter and absorbs sweat in summer. Cotton assimilates colors better than linen, and the colors were strong, so it was suitable for the fashion-conscious late Middle Ages. Because cotton represented just one part of the cloth, fustian was cheaper than pure cotton products. In Swabia, merchants started fustian production between 1363 and 1383, after they had copied the manufacturing techniques in northern Italy. The last known purchases of fustian by German merchants in northern Italy were in 1427/28. After that, production in Germany was able to satisfy local and regional demands.

Lombardy became the main region for the production of pure cotton products, and its products were traded throughout the Mediterranean region and the rest of Europe. Cotton traders got the wool from Asia Minor, especially from Syria, and with the distribution of this product, the cultivation of cotton in Sicily and Calabria started.

Furthermore, metal products had a high priority in trade. Since the 12th century, Cologne was known for its swords, since the following century additionally for helmets and coats of mail (*Kettenhemden*). After the development of suits of armor (*Harnische*) around 1300, these were also manufactured. However, not the Rhineland, but northern Italy was the main supplier for armor, with Milan and Brescia enjoying the best reputation. In both cities, craftsmen produced standardized and cheap products for "normal" combatants as well as parade armor for the high nobility. Milan and Brescia had access to the iron deposits on the southern slopes of the Alps and to the large amounts of charcoal in the alpine forests. Water drove the hammers and the polishing machines. In the 15th century, Nuremberg successfully penetrated into these markets, specializing in the production of viable armor for infantry. This could be achieved by a high degree of division of labor – one craftsman produced only a single part of the armor, while others assembled the parts into end products. Nuremberg dominated the upper Palatinate mining and the iron industry in this region.

One of the main bulk goods was grain, yet the grain trade in Europe was split in two, a northern and a southern part. The northern Italian cities provided themselves with supplies from Siciliy and the Black Sea coast. Likewise, the numerous cities of today Netherlands and Belgium used Hanseatic merchants as intermediaries, who primarily purchased grain from their neighbours at the southern coast of the Baltic Sea.

In Austria, alpine mining reached its climax in the period between the 14th and the 16th century. Gold and silver dominated before non-ferrous metals (copper, lead, mercury), followed by salt and iron. However, the miners had to push deeper, and this was possible only through better techniques of conveying and dewatering. For the gold mining industries, the upper Lavant valley, the Rauris and the Gastein valleys can be named. Silver mining was important in Styria, and, since the 15th century, in the Tyrol, Salzburg and Carinthia. And Schwaz (Tyrol) was one of the most important mining centers in the world of the 15th century. However, mining and metallurgy massively damaged the forests, and most of the trees in the Rauris and the Gastein valley fell victim to this. We can add destruction by emissions, vapors, and gases, which contained sulfur, arsenic, and cobalt. Farmers complained, that no cattle could be held in the vicinity of the huts or in large parts of the valleys.

The alpine passes became more and more important for the long-distance trade. One major route led from Augsburg over Fern and Reschen pass to Merano and Bolzano. The Alpine pass with the most traffic was the route from Augsburg to Scharnitz, Innsbruck and the Brenner Pass to Venice; we can also mention the routes over the Radstätter Tauern or the Heiligenbluter Tauern. For Switzerland, the St. Gotthard, Great St. Bernhard and Splügen can be named. At prominent points of the Alpine passes, new hospitals emerged since the 11th century, supplemented by inns, which both offered protection and accommodation for travellers. Large parts of the pass routes were not suited for wagons, and pack animals had to carry the loads.

On the way to Hungary, the merchants went through Carinthia to Pettau (Ptuj) via Villach, Völkermarkt und Maribor. In the 11th and 12th century, Ptuj was the main commercial center of Styria, though the city was under the reign of the archbishops of Salzburg. Ptuj could secure its a position as a first-order market place well into the 16th century. Since the early 13th century, merchants from Austria can be found in Venice and other cities of northern Italy.

Written sources on crafts are very rare from the 11th to the 13th century but some gaps were closed by the research of Medieval Archeology. The high medieval craftsmen still used fairly simple tools, which, to the greater part they had produced themselves. Bakers and butchers as the most important occupations of food production and trade were probably represented in all medium and larger cities. That stone construction led to the numerial growth of qualified build-

ing craftsmen and their assistants is on hand. And at the end of the 13thcentury, for the first time the german word *Steinmetz* (stone cutter) is mentioned.

The late Middle Ages knew a wide differentiation of the artisans, with local concentration of certain industries. Thus, in the last decade of the 15th century, 1,300 master craftsmen worked in the metal production industry of Nuremberg. For this city, from the 14th to 16th century, about hundred different jobs were mentioned for this branch of industry: an evidence of strong specialization. The 1,300 master craftsmen represented about 30 percent of the masters in the city.

Between and within the craft guilds, there were large differences in wealth. In addition to metal trade, leather production and food supply tended to form the top of the wealth scale, while at the lower end the agricultural sector and the woodworking industry, as well as shoemakers and tailors were to be found. The construction and the textile sector presented a wider range, builders tended to range in the lower half. In the late Middle Ages, craftmen worked an average of 265 days a year, and in summer the working time was longer than in winter. Particularly in the construction industry, orders differentiated between summer and winter day wages.

Probably in most cities there was no development of special artisan quarters in the late Middle Ages, and often the workshops remained scatterd throughout the entire city. However, the councils moved trades with a high fire risk – like the blacksmiths – to outside areas, if possible. Dyers and tanners needed locations near water courses for their work, and both industries were also associated with bad smell. For their water supply, ditches had to be dug. So tanners, usually wealthy craftsmen, often lived near the walls of the cities, in peripheral areas. During the late Middle Ages, preferred areas of living were the market(s) and the broad arterial streets. However, since the 15th century larger areas of bad reputation inhabitated by poor people are recognizable not only at the periphery. A stricter separation between rich and poor nonetheless was reserved for later centuries. A fundamental difference to modern times is the high value of scrap material: products were used again and again, and finally reintroduced into the production process, in order to keep the use of expensive raw materials to a minimum. In contrast, the cost of labor was low. Even in the 16th century, the nails from the roof of the city hall in Siegen were straightened out to use them again. But a crafts-

man had to straighten 4,000 to 4,500 nails a day to get the daily wage of a skilled construction worker.

Medieval Domestic Architecture

Now a look at housing conditions: Living in post buildings dominated during the early Middle Ages, and post buildings with one large room were an innovation of the Merovingian period. After all, inside dimensions with a width of six and a length up to about 24 meters could be reached. Statements about wall heights or the interior remain largely hypothetical. Smaller post buildings were used for stock.

Rural life well into modern times was predominantly living in buildings that included housing and stables for horses and cattle. And in spite of different constructions and sizes, the coexistence of men and livestock under one roof dominated. In the early Middle Ages, in addition to horses only dairy cows and working animals were held in stables. Pigs, sheep, and goats lived outside the central building, just as the poultry. Often, attention was given to the orientation of a house, so that the wind did not blow the emanations from the stable into the living room. On the other hand, the cattle in the stables warmed up the building, and this could be perceived as an advantage considering cold winters and quite draughty conditions. A wooden layer on the soil was possibly an additional protection.

The lifespan of wooden houses normally was limited to 30 or 40 years. In addition to the reconstruction of buildings in or near a settlement, we can discover the transfer of whole villages inside the municipal area over a distance of some hundred meters. In the 8th and the 9th century, the settlements became fixed (manor system, parish church organisation). Pit houses weren't used as living rooms in central Europe, as in contrast to the Slavic areas. The interior of most houses was probably simple, we can imagine stools and chests, maybe benches at the walls. The use of beds was reserved only for superiors, as the findings from our main source – the Medieval Archaeology – tell us.

Stand buildings (*Ständerbauten*) widely replaced the post houses from the 11th, and even more from the 12th century on. Now the thresholds were based on ground-level, partly on brick pedestals, and because of further stabilization methods, multistoried houses could be built, so in Lübeck in the 12th century. This allowed a dif-

ferentiation of the living areas and made it possible for the first time, to spend day and night not only on ground level.

Stone houses were built in smaller numbers in the 11th and the 12th century, and they can be ascripted to the masters of the cities, to the *ministeriales* officials and to the nobility but merchants were also involved in this development. In the 13th century, stone houses dominated the townscape. Nevertheless, the use of stone as building material reflected the social stratification in this time. We have to keep in mind that the basic availability of suitable stones for construction must be taken into account, and that natural conditions also predetermined the townscape.

In areas with no quarries or no possibilities to gather stones from fields or from riverbeds, people had to make bricks. We can observe a domination of stone houses in the municipial structure around the ecclesiastical crystalization points, around the market or the markets, in the vicinity of upper class secular buildings and near bridges. Municipal self-confidence, the emergence of council constitutions, and the rise of the community of the citizens were visualized in the first representive, multi-functional town halls in the 13th century.

The durability of half-timbered houses increased if the wooden beams stood on a stone ground floor or on an elevated wall. Probably in the second half of the 12th century, this stage of development was reached. Not until the mid-14th century, the carpenters could build half-timbered houses floor by floor, and now shorter wooden beams could be used. Prior to this, the load bearing woods had to reach up to the gable of the buildings. Widely used in half-timbered and stone houses was the overhang, a wall projection of the upper floors to enlarge the usable space. This new construction method led to a change of legal interpretation, too. Still, in the early 13th century the house applied, for example in Lübeck, as a chattle or as mobile but at the end of the century the council saw ground and buildings as a unit, as real estates. Craftsmen houses were mostly build in modest dimensions, and parts of the ground floor often served as a workshop.

A distinct improvement of living comfort were rooms that could be heated smoke free, and which we find first on the nobility's castles. Since the 12th century, tiled stoves spread in the cities but only in the 14th and 15th century they became the standard heating system in the houses of citizens. The cookers were still open fires but now they clearly stood out from the ground. A stove, spread with

loam, rested upon a stonewall or on bricks, and the stove had moved from the center of the room to the outside walls and flues favored the atmosphere in the kitchen.

Well into the 12th century, roofs were still covered with straw, boards, thatch, or reed. Roof tiles became known around 1200 and in areas with slate deposits this material was used. For fire protection reasons, many cities prescribed roofing with slate, stone or bricks but the implementation mostly depended on the availability of the material or its production costs. The houseowners' want for representation also played a role. The provisions were implemented more quickly, if the city subsidized the roof covering.

The central living area of late medieval houses was the kitchen, and, with regional differences, the living room, heated by a tiled stove. The latter were often located on the representative, street-facing side of the houses. But the size of the house and the materials used were determined – like today – by the financial strength of the owners. Stone towers, which today we can often see in the cities of northern Italy, in Germany only can be found in Regensburg. These towers were built at the same time as the stone castles and the towers in the countryside. But we can't draw a rising line from wooden, half-timbered to stone buildings, because in the 13th and 14th century, in the course of the construction of new houses half-timbered houses replaced older stone buildings, and this shows the high esteem for the building material wood.

The construction methods and techniques for stone and half-timbered houses were redefined, just as the design of the facade and the roof. Also build were impressive cellars with altitudes of up to five meters, while the merchants used the upper floors of the buildings as supplementary storage rooms, and that's why these floors were often lower than those used for living. Especially in merchants' houses, we can see large gates, which the wagons with their goods could pass.

The walls now featured more and larger openings but the windows mostly had to be closed with material like linen or cloth. Glass windows were a feature of upscale housing but the blur bull's eye panes only let a dim light into the rooms. The production of colorless, transparent glass was perfected in Venice not until the mid of the 15th century, and in the following century, glass was traded over larger distances. Both the use of windows and tiled stoves led to a

significant increase of temperature and light in the houses. And only since the late Middle Ages, tables and chairs began to fill the rooms.

Of course, this did not apply to the poor who had to dwell in one-room huts or sheds with an open fire place. For some cities we know rows of shacks, where many people existed. Even worse lived those who had to occupy cellars, previously used as storage, becausethese were both badly heated and inadequately ventilated and humid moreover – but even here we can find still sub-tenants.

Finally, a few words regarding family. "Familia" on the one hand means all members of a household. This differs from the core familiy: parents and children. The idea of a three-generation familiy including grandparents, is not existent in the Middle Ages and is only social romanticism of 19th century historians. Most of the people worked until they died, and poverty among elderly widowed women is documented by numerous sources.

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Maja Godina Golija

Basics of medieval alimentation

In the Middle Ages, the diet of the majority of the population was meager, monotonous, and primarily based on people's own seasonal crops. However, one must not forget that parts of the medieval population, especially the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie, led very luxurious lives. This was especially typical of the fourteenth century, when the courts of powerful rulers and princes were the centers of the fashion and elegance of that time due to flourishing trade. Especially in the Middle Ages, the diet differed greatly according to individuals' economic and social status. The majority of the people ate porridge and various types of cracked grains, whereas the food eaten by the aristocracy at that time was prepared from the finest ingredients, lavishly garnished (even with gold), colored, and seasoned with the most expensive spices imported from the East.

General information about Food in the Middle Ages

The preparation of medieval food largely depended on the foodstuffs produced by farmers and simple kitchen utensils. This differed significantly by social groups. The majority of households used an open hearth in the middle of the kitchen or a simple stove. A separate kitchen with a chimney was also common. A simpler version had the hearth on the floor and the chimney for the smoke above it. Sometimes the hearth was also raised to table level. The chimney was often placed in the corner or against the wall. To prevent fires, the floor was usually made of earth or stone. The smoke rising from the fireplace was used to smoke meat and dry fruit, herbs, and vegetables.

Wealthier households, such as those in monasteries and castles, had several kitchens. The cookware commonly used in medieval kitchens included various types of vessels, especially pans, pots, and skillets of various sizes. These were made of wood, clay, iron, copper, bronze, and brass. Wooden and earthenware vessels and tools for the hearth were most common because they were inexpensive.

The most important foods available to medieval Europeans were those produced at home: garden vegetables, herbs, cruciferous vegetables, legumes, and various types of cereals. Meat also played an important role, especially beef, mutton, goat, and pork. Poultry was more common in towns than in the countryside, although its consumption increased towards the end of the Middle Ages alongside beef. Game was not so important for most people; it was common primarily in the aristocratic cuisine. The aristocracy also had the right to hunt wild animals, which explains the importance and popularity of game in this social group. People living in towns consumed more meat, whereas meals prepared from cereals, vegetables, and legumes dominated in the countryside.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the diet of townspeople primarily consisted of meat and cereals (porridge and bread), fish, vegetables, milk and dairy products (butter and cheese), vinegar, mustard, wine, schnapps, and beer. Fresh, cooked, or preserved fruit also became popular. The most popular fruits included plums, apples, pears, berries, walnuts, and hazelnuts. Despite the great differences in the composition and quantity of diet between individual social groups, even the less wealthy tried to follow the examples of aristocratic cuisine. Records have been preserved of a Bavarian nobleman that in the 14th century offered his workers wheat bread and maslin bread, barley and oats, millet, roasted and boiled meat, cheese, milk, cabbage, beets, various types of fish, apples, and boiled pears at harvest time. Dishes were seasoned with spices, onions, and salt, and considerable amounts of lard and eggs were also used to prepare them.

However, the majority of people could not include food as rich and varied as this in their everyday diet. Their diet was based on cereals, vegetables, and other plants, and there was a general lack of meat and other protein-rich foods for most of the Middle Ages. Many foods were only available seasonally, not only vegetables and fruit, but also meat and fish. Therefore, they also tried to preserve foods; for example, in some places in Europe, fish were cooked and preserved in vinegar or honey; fruit was dried or braised and kept in closed containers; and meat was heavily seasoned and kept cold, which is why good, cool cellars were very important for households. In Slovenia and the neighboring alpine lands, the most popular techniques for preserving food were drying, smoking, and salting.

Some features of the upper-class medieval diet may seem a bit unusual today; these include certain ingredients commonly found especially on fancier or holiday menus that often served to display

wealth and power. They included the consumption of certain small animals and birds no longer eaten today, such as peacocks, the nearly unlimited use of all parts of butchered animals to prepare various dishes, frequent use of wine in cooking and preparing food, and almost artistic alterations to the shape, color, and taste of a dish. Meals were garnished not only with expensive spices, but even silver and gold. Some animals that were popular in the medieval diet can hardly be considered edible today; however, at that time squirrels, hedgehogs, guinea pigs, beavers, dormice, and some species of birds, especially sparrows, jays, and fieldfares, were frequently served at feasts.

People ate practically all parts of the meat from butchered animals, and the entrails, heads, parts like ears and tongues, and blood were also very popular in food preparation. They were good at preparing various specialties from this, especially pâtés and dumplings shaped like mushrooms, crawfish, eggs, and birds. Minced meat was also popular and used for preparing neatly arranged dishes for feasts.

Medieval cooks also made aspic, especially from fish and meat, and used various natural dyes for coloring: lilies and cornflowers for blue, parsley for green, saffron for yellow, beets for red and grated gingerbread for brown. During Lent, they used permitted ingredients to prepare meat-like dishes.

Wealthier medieval cuisine extensively used great quantities of imported spices to cover up the natural taste of dishes and meals. The Arabs had spread knowledge about their use in Antiquity because spices were widely used and popular in eastern cuisine. The popularity of spices in the Middle Ages originated not only from the desire to display wealth, but also the belief in their medicinal power. Horseradish, mint, and caraway were among the home-grown herbs that were also used for medical purposes; they were grown in gardens and used dry in winter. Wealthier households also purchased large quantities of imported spices: pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and saffron. Saffron was very expensive; one pound of saffron cost the same as one horse. Slovenian language has preserved the saying "It's as expensive as saffron" to refer to something very costly; it most likely originates from this period.

Due to their high prices, sugar, almonds, and rice were also considered luxury foods in Europe at that time. The majority of people used honey as a sweetener, but even this was not always available.

The luxury food products and spices mentioned above were only used by the wealthiest households, and even those did not use them for everyday meals, but only for special occasions, when they had guests and held celebrations; they were also given to wealthy patients because expensive luxury products were considered very healthful and pharmacists sold them at high prices. Spices were not only used to enhance taste; their use was also connected with the individual skills of the cooks and their creative ways to use their own judgment when preparing dishes.

In addition to water, the most popular drinks in medieval Europe were cider, beer, wine, and mead. Mead continued to be popular among the common folk even after the twelfth century when wine became increasingly popular among the wealthier classes. Brewing beer was also widely practiced: it was brewed in monasteries and castles, where wine was also produced. Fruit cider was also very popular: not only apple cider, but also pear and sloe cider. The wine was of various quality; wine that was not so good was used for everyday consumption, and better wine was served at meals on special occasions. In addition to the winegrowing regions still known today, wine was also produced in the north (e.g., Denmark), and there was also a thriving trade with Greek and Cypriot wines. In the Middle Ages, wine had various social functions: it was offered to guests, it was an important element at celebrations, it was used to seal business deals, and even farmers treated themselves to it on Sundays.

Wine vinegar was produced as a byproduct of wine. It was a popular food additive, especially when preparing meat and fish, and also used in folk medicine to lower fevers.

The first records on distilling schnapps also date from the Late Middle Ages; the skill had spread from the Orient, where schnapps or distillates were produced mainly from rose petals and roses. At first it was used as medicine, which was harmful if used in large quantities, and therefore it was only drunk under doctors' supervision. However, schnapps could soon be bought as refreshment and something to enjoy.

Rules concerning the preparation and the consumption of food

In the Middle Ages, the upper classes had already developed specific rules concerning the preparation of food and norms connected with dining. The size and shape of tables depended on the number of people eating. For larger feasts, several tables were set up next to one another, and a special, slightly raised table was prepared for prominent guests or the host, who were waited on by special servants. The tables were covered with tablecloths and meals were served in various skillets, bowls, and on boards; earthenware and wooden vessels were widely used, and vessels made of more expensive materials such as tin were common among wealthier people. Plates still resembled round or square boards. The food was served with the fingers; knives and slices of bread were used to eat meat. Knives and spoons were the most common utensils; they were considered personal property and most people carried a knife and a spoon with them. Only at aristocratic tables and tables of ecclesiastical lords did nicely set tables also include knives and forks, which were often beautifully ornamented and had various sizes and shapes.

The spoon has experienced only a few changes over the centuries. It used to be wider and had a shorter handle because it was held with the entire fist. Wooden spoons were the most common; silver spoons were only used by rich secular and ecclesiastical lords. Like knives, they were beautifully ornamented, and their handles were adorned with mother-of-pearl or ivory, rich ornaments, and sometimes even antler. Households usually only used a few forks and those were used primarily for cooking and cutting-up food. In the Early Middle Ages, forks spread from Byzantium to some European courts, but they progressed slowly across Europe – partly because it was long seen as symbol of the devil. In the fifteenth century, their use was attested at some monasteries and in some aristocratic households in central Europe. It is interesting that they were not used for main courses, but only for specific deserts such as candied fruit, dates, small cakes, and other sticky treats. In the seventeenth century, forks finally became widely used in the form and with the purpose familiar today, and became a standard utensil.

Drinks were served in goblets, among which wooden and earthenware goblets were the most common. More expensive vessels such as tin goblets with a gilded rim, or silver or gilded goblets, were only

common among the upper class. Their design showed the mastery of the craftsmen of that time, who shaped them into interesting forms and richly adorned them with pearls, ivory, and semiprecious stones, which is why people also liked to display them in special places in the dining room. Glass cups were also used; wealthy people used those made of Venetian glass, and less wealthy used those produced by local glass factories. The number and luxury of vessels and silverware on the table reflected the host's wealth and, at the same time, the hosts used them to honor their guests.

Slovene Food Culture in the Middle Ages

There are few sources on the food culture in the territory of present-day Slovenia during the Middle Ages. In view of this, only a handful of archaeologists, historians, and ethnologists have decided to examine this topic. Documents from the Early Middle Ages pertaining to the life of the more affluent strata of Slovene medieval society indicate that its food culture was largely based on rye, wheat, millet, pork, cheese, legumes and other vegetables, beer, and wine. Since these documents also list the quantity of food an individual consumed within a year it is possible to conclude that meals consisted mainly of rye bread, cheese, pork, and beer. Dishes made of wheat were relatively rare, as were vegetables and wine.

Although the food culture of Slovene nobility was of better quality and had more variety it is difficult to establish if, and to what extent, it was similar to sumptuous meals consumed by Frankish and German feudal lords and church dignitaries. Based on historical sources, which often mention ponds located near the houses of families living in the territory of present-day Slovenia as well as their hunting rights, it is possible to presume that freshwater fish and game were often placed on their tables. In the food culture of the population living on the Adriatic coast and in its vicinity, in Istria and the Kras, the influence of nearby Roman neighbors and their culture was considerable. Local meals largely consisted of saltwater fish, olive oil, and wine.

Similar or identical names in Slavic languages for certain plants, for example horse bean, turnip, oats, barley, wheat, and millet, indicate that the Slavs, including our ancestors, were familiar with them even before they had migrated to the territory of present-day Slovenia. The plants are also mentioned in register books from the High

Middle Ages, which means that very likely our ancestors had brought these cultures with them and continued to grow them in their new homeland. Moreover, the names of certain dishes made with wheat are very similar in Slavic languages and provide additional information on medieval food culture in the Slovene territory.

From Slavic Dishes to Medieval Menus

A very old Slavic dish is porridge made from boiled millet, known as the *jagla* or the *jagliči*. Kernels were grinded between two grinding stones called the *žrmlje*, a device that was widely used by the Slavs. The flour was used for boiled and baked dishes. Farinaceous food fried in fat became widespread later, probably in the 16th century. The most typical dishes made from flour were the *žganci* (mush) and the *močnik* (pap). Two other old dishes made of dough are the so-called *mlinci* and the *gibanica*, a plain dish made of several layers of dough mixed with different fillings.

According to the sources, the Slavs living in the territory of what is now Slovenia knew various shapes of bread and cakes. Bread, either leavened or unleavened, was made from cereals that were known in that period, notably millet, wheat, oats, barley, or a mixture of them. Leavened bread was made with dried sourdough, preserved from previous baking, that was soaked in water and added to flour instead of fresh yeast.

Important vegetables consumed in the Middle Ages were the horse bean and the turnip. While the former was boiled in water and then prepared for eating, the latter was eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Cabbage, another important ingredient that was initially consumed only in the form of fermented sauerkraut (which is a method known for centuries) that had been brought to this territory either by our Roman neighbors or the Mongols.

Typical fruits consumed in the Middle Ages consisted of wild pears, plums, cherries, and apples, and fruits foraged in forests and meadows: blueberries, hazelnuts, and raspberries. They were eaten raw or cooked, either plain or in combination with other food. Of considerable importance were mushrooms. They were cooked or dried for later use since the technique of drying food as a form of conservation was widely used. Mushrooms were also added to other dishes as condiment.

In addition to mushrooms, there were other condiments used by the Slavs to prepare tastier dishes. Salt, garlic, honey, horseradish, and hops are all mentioned in old records. After they had settled in Slovenia, the Slavs started to use, in addition to the ingredients mentioned above, onions, leek, and poppy. Long familiar with apiculture, the knowledge about beekeeping and gathering honey from wild bees had been brought with them from their original homelands.

Hops was another plant widely known among the Slavs even before their migration; hops was used as addition to mead and to brew beer. It may be presumed that it was the Slavs who conveyed their knowledge about the use of hops to other peoples living in the area of present-day Western Europe.

Archaeological finds from the territory of present-day Slovenia indicate that in the Early Middle Ages, meat was another important food. Archaeologists discovered that people living in the vicinity of Bled (7th – 10th cent.) had eaten beef, pork, mutton, and goat meat. When a Slav died, chickens, or chicken parts, were placed in the grave with her or him, which clearly indicates that they raised poultry for meat and eggs. Later sources mention that our ancestors also raised particularly cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs.

Meat was generally boiled or roasted. The most important animal product was certainly cheese. While the Slavs had already been making cottage cheese in their original homeland, after their arrival to the new territory they also learned from their indigenous Vlach neighbors how to make fresh cheese. In addition to those laid by their own poultry, they also consumed eggs of wild birds.

In spite of an abundance of game in our territory, it was generally not consumed by the local population with exception of the nobility. Records mention dormice hunting and freshwater fishing. Fishing on a larger scale and hunting for big game required specialized knowledge and costly implements inaccessible to the poor farming population.

Our ancestors' most important beverage throughout the Middle Ages was water. Also popular was whey that was left over from the cheese-making process. Drunk already in the Slavs' original homeland, mead and beer were brought to our territory as well. The term *ol*, an old Slavic name for beer, has been preserved to this day. Not particularly tasty, medieval beer was similar to the thick home-brewed beer made by the rural population. While Alpine Slavs had brought with them the ancient knowledge about viticulture they adopted the

knowledge about making schnapps and cider from Germanic cultures.

Utensils required for the preparation and consumption of food were similar to those in other parts of Europe. The most frequent were wooden and clay pots, and bowls of different shapes. They were used for boiling and baking, and also served as plates. The bowls usually held up to two liters of water. Large ones were filled with food for everybody gathered around the table, and each guest had to reach and scoop the food directly from the bowl; small bowls were used individually. Solid food was eaten by hand. It is highly likely that people also used wooden spoons that resembled ladles. Food was boiled over embers, baked above them, or covered with them. Bread was baked in a simple oven or under an earthenware lid called the *pekva*.

In the Middle Ages, people already knew a variety of foodstuffs that provided nourishment and ensured survival. However, these were so scarce that Europe was frequently plagued by severe food shortages and famine. The combination of insufficient farming knowledge, simple farming tools, and low-quality seeds produced bad harvests that often did not significantly surpass the quantity of sown seeds. Rigorous weather further aggravated these conditions. With the exception of the wealthy, the majority of the population therefore suffered from hunger. According to archaeological finds from the Early Middle Ages, which show the defective bone structure of the local population, the situation in our territory was similar. Women were only approximately 155 centimeters tall, men ten centimeters taller. Their life span was short, infant and child mortality rates high. One fourth of the graves found by Slovene archaeologists were those of children. Women's mortality was equally high; particularly vulnerable were younger women who frequently died of sepsis after childbirth. However, it may be presumed on the basis of archaeological and archival sources that the food culture of the Early Middle Ages was still more adequate than in the later period.

After raids of the Huns had ended, a new feudal structure was introduced. The farm became the center of the economic production. In addition to increased colonization, this gradually improved the existing economic situation. However, tributes to feudal lords and the church remained high and the food culture of the majority of the population remained more or less the same. Still based largely on vegetables, the most common dishes were porridge, mush, pap, and bread, and the most frequently consumed legumes were horse

beans and lentils. Meat, usually pork, beef, mutton, and goat meat, was eaten sparingly and was served only on holidays or to celebrate the conclusion of arduous farming chores. Important were milk and cheese; the latter was also used as flavoring for certain dishes. These findings were also confirmed by the listings in Brixen register books for 1253 that mention the following produce typical for Bled and its vicinity: wheat, rye, oats, horse bean, oat beer, wine, cattle, sheep, pigs, chickens, and eggs.

Food Culture of the wealthier classes in Slovenia

The food consumed by wealthier classes, particularly the nobility, was more varied. Several reports on this topic have been preserved, notably the travel diaries of Paolo Santonino. A chancellor of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Santonino journeyed through our lands three times between 1485 and 1487. He recorded not only everyday lives and religious practices of people living in Friuli, Carinthia, Tyrol, Carniola, and Styria but often also their food culture and select dishes offered to him by the local nobility. Slovene noble families strived to copy the dishes served at stately residences of foreign nobility but were restricted to agricultural products from their own estates or to those acquired by tithe. Some foodstuffs were occasionally bought.

Following the model of European noble classes, the noble families residing in Slovene castles employed several well-trained cooks who were knowledgeable and skilled enough to be able to prepare a wide range of excellent and diverse dishes; some of the recipes for these were obtained in manuscript cookbooks. More formal festive occasions called for imported spices such as saffron and cinnamon and for expensive ingredients such as almonds and rice.

Some of Santonino's descriptions of feasts prepared in the castles of Lower Styria, particularly those in Majšperk and Slovenske Konjice, mention most of the characteristic features of the cuisine of Slovene noble families of that time. He also describes food habits on such special occasions. Dining rooms were lavishly decorated with roses, fresh herbs, and greenery. Wine was served in golden or silver goblets. Dinner consisted of up to eleven courses composed of groups of dishes that followed one another, sometimes starting with pasta thickly sprinkled with sugar and drenched in cream. The second course consisted of delicious capons and chickens roasted in their own juices. It was followed by trout from the castle's own pond

or river; cabbages with bacon; roasted goat with chickens; and boiled carp soup. Next was goat meat in saffron soup; crushed and fried crabmeat; meat in, as Santonino put it, "the darkness" (presumably served in blood); omelets with sage; mushrooms made from other ingredients; and, at the end, a greasy soup with barley. The repast was sometimes concluded with sweets and honey. All dishes were served with white bread and different wines. The event was accompanied with music, for example with songs provided by a small chorus, or with flute music for dancing.

The Significance of Monasteries for the Development of Medieval Food Culture

Monasteries played a significant role in the production and preparation of food. It was in these monasteries that recipes were set on paper or copied from manuscripts. It was there that culinary skills and knowledge about food growing, gardening, and fruit growing were preserved and cultivated. Monks were tilling fields, raising crops, and working in monastery gardens. They possessed knowledge about winemaking, knew how to brew beer, and were breeding fish in their monastery's fish ponds. With the exception of fish, crab, snails, and otter (which was considered fish), they did not eat meat. They consumed a variety of vegetables and cereal-based dishes. On Saturdays, they frequently ate dumplings. Equally popular were various strudels, baked millet porridge, stewed pears and apples, and other farinaceous dishes.

Some recipes

Crabs with Herb Sauce

500 grams of cleaned crawfish tails; water for boiling; and salt.
Sauce: 4 fistfuls of chopped green herbs (for example parsley, cress, fennel, chervil, dill, leek, and anise)
2 deciliters of sour cream
1 deciliter of cream
salt and pepper
lemon juice

2 hardboiled eggs, chopped.
Boil crabs in salted water and drain. Make herb sauce with chopped herbs, sour cream, cream, chopped hard-boiled eggs, salt, pepper, and lemon juice. Pour over the crabs.

Boiled Ham with Eggs

Ingredients:
1 ham
salt
carrots
1 parsley root
a small piece of celery
½ onion
garlic
bay leaf
pepper berries
Preparation
Place ham in a pot; add vegetables and condiments. Add water so that the ham is completely covered. Cover the pot, boil for 2 hours. When cold, slice and garnish with hard-boiled eggs.

Spread with Herbs

Ingredients:
chopped parsley
chervil
garden cress
1 or 2 egg yolks
lemon juice
salt
butter
oil
Preparation
Mix finely chopped parsley, chives, cow parsley, and garden chervil with 1 or 2 egg yolks, several drops of lemon juice, and several grains of salt. Mix with whipped butter. If the mixture is too thick, add several separate drops of oil.

Fruit Bread

Ingredients:

500 grams milk dough
150 grams prunes
150 grams dried pears
150 grams dried figs
1 teaspoon cinnamon

Milk Dough

400 grams flour
40 grams butter
1 egg
2 deciliters milk
20 grams yeast
salt
Preparation
Fruit bread used to be classified as a sweet. Dried fruit was soaked in water overnight. In the morning, it was placed in a sieve to drain. The water was used for dough preparation. Fruit was then cut, soaked in home-made schnapps, and sprinkled with cinnamon. When the dough rose, it was rolled with a rolling pin. One half was coated with the fruit mixture. The edges were daubed with egg white and the uncoated half folded over. The edges had to be sealed tightly. The loaf was then placed in an oven and baked.

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Dorothee Rippmann

„Take almaundes blaunched ...“ Cookbooks in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

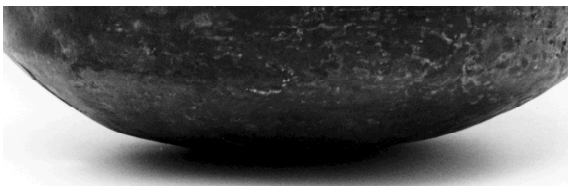
Throughout history, the production of food and the preparation of dishes have displayed cultural achievements through short-lived products, since they are destined to be consumed immediately. For that reason, this special type of human creativity generally eludes the inquiring eye of historians. Nourishment as part of a material culture of the past ultimately remains intangible for posterity. As opposed to a document written on parchment or paper, or a piece of art like a sculpture or a painting, we are not able to inspect the creations of medieval culinary art; the aroma of erstwhile dishes has disappeared forever. A far-off memory, a stale aftertaste in a manner of speaking, remains preserved for posterity in the media of cooking recipes, collections of recipes, and cookbooks.

On the bookshelves of modern households, collections of cookbooks – we could call them a popular and self-selling type of guidebooks – can be found. Part of them are books on nursing and feeding a baby, solely addressing mothers. Cooking literature covers everything between gourmet specialities, aimed at gastronomes, and the basic needs for healthy nourishment for mother and child; depending on the price, the book is directed at a group of buyers that worship luxury and exclusiveness or to the Average Joe (and Joanna respectively).

Formal Features of the Text Genre “Cooking Recipe”

What is a cooking recipe, what is a manual to good, healthy food in the epoch of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age? Functionally speaking, these text types are characterized by the following: They memorize knowledge concerning purposeful actions and pass this knowledge of an expert on to an addressee. Their intentions are “the transmission of knowledge” and furthermore “the instruction on how to realize this knowledge; the possibilities of how

these actions can be executed"[1]. Statements concerning ingredients and the techniques of their processing that are included in cooking recipes are to be regarded as spoken actions, as speech acts. The expert teaches the ignorant novice the preparation of meals. Hence, the formal layout of a cooking recipe is formed as such: The following examples are taken from medieval collections of recipes.



Kettle found in the medieval castle Frohburg (Trimbach, Canton of Solothurn, Switzerland), 12th century

1 Ehlert, „Nehmet ein junges Huhn", p. 261.

Some of the recipes are continuously written in the imperative of the second person singular, the linguistic form is a direct request: "Take spinach, roast it and chop it and add grinded Parmesan cheese, a bit of pepper, small grapes and melted butter"[2]. "Take rice, wash it carefully in four waters, simmer it, so it gets cooked. Then take the egg white and grind anise over the rice mixture; now you have a white meal. If you want it to be yellow then separate the egg yolk from the eggs; then you have a yellow meal."[3] Often the request to act is introduced with a relative clause: "But if you want to have a good baked fish ..., you must have pikes, tenches, or carps, so take the slime [*den schwaiß* – i.e. "the sweat"] off the fish ..., and you have to make it with good spices ...[4]. With these sentence constructions, medieval cooking recipes adapted a form that was common for German medical and technical recipes; the form was derived from Latin standards. I will come back to that later.

In the German language, the appearance of the subjunctive 1 as an indirect form of request is much rarer: It then says *Man nehme* (literal translation: "one takes"). An English example from the 14th century: „Take almaundes blaunched; grynde hem and drawe hem up with water and wyne, quarter fyges, hole raisouns. Cast perto powdour gynger and hony clarified ..."[5] Or, as told in the ***bůch von gůter spise***: "Take salmon and scrape off its scales, cleave it and cut it to pieces ..."[6]. The indirect request *man nehme* became the common form of introducing a recipe over the course of time; it still appears in 20th century cookbooks. But also other verbs, so called modal verbs, can express the directive character of the message: *mögen* (may), *müssen* (must), *sollen* (shall): "If you want to prepare a suckling-pig, you may fill it with whatever you want to ..."[7].

In the oldest cookbook of the German language (***Daz bůch von gůter spise***, around 1350) an unknown author tells us the use of this record in the introduction:

„This book tells / of good food,
It makes / inexperienced cooks wise.
I want to instruct you

2 Ibid., p. 264.
3 Ehlert, Maister Hannsen, fol. 90r.
4 Ibid., fol. 96r.
5 Hieatt / Hosington / Butler, Pleyn delit, p. 119.
6 Weiss Adamson, Daz buoch von guoter spise, p. 64.
7 Ehlert, „Nehmet ein junges Huhn", p. 265.

how to cook meals:
He who does not know
how to prepare great meals
from many small things,
should turn to this book.
Let him keep in mind the information
that this book wants to give:
For it can well relate
about all kinds of dishes
big or small
how they mix
and work that they
make noble food out of lowly ingredients
He should listen to this book ..."[8]

Balance of Nourishment – Cuisine and Medicine as Siblings

The genre of cooking recipes seems to invite us to duplicate the erstwhile medieval dishes, to "reconstruct" them. What prevents us from doing so? There is not a single medieval cookbook with measurements for the ingredients (only in the mid-16th century you can find them in the cookbook of Sabina Welserin) – this renders the one-to-one reproduction of the dishes impossible! Authors of cooking recipes are far from giving their "kitchen secrets" to the written medium, they keep them to themselves! With their "secret knowledge" they remain indispensable and wooed in the large households of counts and those of the high nobility. The medium they used to hand down practical hints and secrets was the verbal message and the instructions the master chef gave to the kitchen staff! One can only imagine the vast number of servants that were employed at the great kitchens of high lords, like the papal court in Avignon and later in Rome[9], in the castles of kings, dukes, and bishops. Water carriers *(potiers),* errand boys, stock administrators *(garde-manger), broyeur au mortier* (= "the crusher at the mortar", the one who uses the mortar), apprentice cooks, bread carriers, cellar masters, wine waiters, and *potagiers*.[10]

8 Weiss Adamson, buoch von guoter spise, p. 91.
9 Weiss, Versorgung.
10 Laurioux, Tafelfreuden im Mittelalter, p. 105.

Missing measurements for ingredients are a reason for the frequent statements in contemporary historical literature that medieval food was excessively over-spiced – this is a fatal misinterpretation.[11] In fact, we see today that medieval cooks aimed for a well balanced combination of ingredients and spices – if they had a grasp of cooking fundamentals. However, balance meant something different than that what our modern nutritionists want to make us believe: The right proportion of carbohydrates, proteins, and lipids, the serving of cooked vegetables and the supply of vitamins was of no concern for the medieval cook. He focused on the right proportion of foods of different, sometimes even diametrical qualities.[12] The term "quality" needs an explanation: It is a natural philosophical category of the "basic quality", also known as the "complexion": From antiquity on, the quality of food is defined after its attribute in the grid of the four primary qualities warm and cold – moist and dry. According to the degree of its "warmth" and "moistness" the effect of the food on the human organism differs. This natural philosophical belief is ultimately based on the lore of the elements: The basic components of all living organisms from flora and fauna, as well as the body, are made of the four humors (lat. *humores*); nowadays we still call this concept humorism. The cardinal substances – phlegm (moist-cold), black bile (dry-cold), yellow bile (dry-warm), and blood (moist-warm) – control the physiology of the body, depending on their combination.[13] For practical medicine and the culinary arts, nourishing, easily digestible food was absolutely essential so that the consumer could remain in good health. The most common cause of disease was bad digestion. What is healthy for an individual in a certain situation, in the climatic zone he lives in, and in the respective time of the year also depends on his/her personal proportion of the humors. This also explains the serving of several plates (lat. *fercula*) at a rich, representative dinner at once, with many totally different meals out of which one could choose the food befitting ones humors. Today's order of the menu was unknown up to the early Modern Age.

Out of medical and health-related (dietetic) considerations followed the theory that a good master cook – just like a good mother of the house – had to have knowledge of practical medicine.

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11 Redon / Sabban / Serventi, Kochkunst des Mittelalters, p. 38 f., 46–50.
12 Scully, Art of cookery, p. 40–65; Scully, Tempering Medieval Food.
13 Engelhardt, Ernährungskonzepte; Rippmann, Un aliment; Rippmann, Körper und Sinne.

The most important proposition for the conception of medieval and early modern age cooking is: "Medicine and cuisine are siblings!" Right nourishment laid the foundation of preventive medicine but also of the way of living itself. Because of this fundamental connection between the art of healing and the art of cooking, the proximity of cookbooks and the so called *Regimen sanitatis*-literature can be explained. The *Regimina sanitatis* are manuals for a healthy way of living. They also often contain "wise" and pharmacological explanations to groceries – whether they were of herbal or animal nature.[14] From the 14th century on, they are no longer exclusively written in Latin but also in vernacular translations. These treatises enlighten their readers about the properties and effects of the respective foods; they explain in which aspect the foods are dangerous and in which cases they might be useful. This literature was aimed at the same group of buyers as the cookbook literature; also, cooking recipes and health treatises were often bound together in one code as collections.[15]

Although humorism and fluidism proven to be wrong with the discovery of the blood circuit in the Modern Age and subsequently replaced by solidism and similar newer theories, it nevertheless lived on until the 19th century. For example, Carl Friedrich von Rumohr – under his pseudonym Joseph König – writes about the problem of chemical transformation in 1822 in his standard work "Geist der Kochkunst" (= "The Spirit of Culinary Art"): "Groceries combined in proper style in one or several sequent meals can support their mutual decomposition, for dry and moist, fat and meagre, cold and hot aid each other." This author still orients himself on the lore of the elements and their primal qualities. The following is aimed at humorism: "Additionally, sustentation is not the only function of eating; other functions could be the thinning or the purification of the humors, or stimuli or the reduction of stimuli during eating. These effects in meals are instinctively chosen or avoided by healthier human natures, just like by noble animals. This is the reason why one person may like one special meal at one day but at another day, or even at another age or state of health, dislike it."[16]

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14 Rippmann, Schachtafeln; Rippmann, Un aliment; Schipperges, Kategorie Gesundheit.

15 Scully, Art of cookery, p. 42–46. As an example take the fourteenth-century English cookery book «Forme of Cury», where it is indicated „that this collection of recipes was ‚compiled by assent and avyssement of maistres of phisik and of philosophie' who were attachet to the court of Richard II."

16 Rumohr, Geist der Kochkunst, p. 177.

Utensils and Techniques Then and Now

As already said, it is impossible to cook according to medieval recipes one-to-one, as there is no measurement of ingredients. However, there is yet another reason why it is impossible: Nowadays we own a totally different set of kitchen equipment, heat sources, of cookware and utensils.[17] The ability of slowly braising a stew in an earthen pot through putting it on the right spot on the stove or through setting it beside the red-hot coals got lost over the ages. The mortar was banned from nearly all kitchens, we buy our meat neatly cut while we are proud of our electrical mixer and spice grinders. Who strains a sauce through linen nowadays? Who still grinds almonds and spices with a mortar to prepare a sauce? Who binds a sauce with wine or bread that has been soaked with vinegar? Who still knows how to thicken a sauce that has to be "bound by liver, mashed breast-meat and almond-powder"?[18] Who deglazes a sauce with agrest or verjus? Verjus is a sourly juice from unripe grapes; it actually celebrates a comeback in the scene of modern gourmets. Agrest gets pressed out of unripe fruits, for example apples, and also gives the sauce a sourly touch.

Who knows how to roast an omelette or fish in a glazed ceramic pan without them getting scorched? Besides the fact that these dishes tasted differently when they were baked in lard, everybody who has already cooked on an open-fire stove knows that the outcome is flavourfully different and still pleases today's palates. "The main difference between a medieval *maître queux* (master chef) and a modern cook is the opulence of his variety in spices. Round and long pepper, ginger, cinnamon, malaguetta-pepper, ground cubeb, caraway, nutmeg and its flower, clove, and so on the chef was able to buy at the *épicier*. As a merchant of high esteem, the medieval *épicier* is a competent mediator between the international market and its customers, made up by kitchen chefs, apothecaries, and doctors."[19] Let's take the biggest court of Europe as an example, the papal court in Avignon: For the provision of the kitchens in the papal palace with spices and condiments from the Far East, the Middle East, and from

17 Redon / Sabban / Serventi, Kochkunst des Mittelalters, p. 31–41.
18 Ibid., p. 38.
19 Ibid., p. 35.

Africa, apothecaries and épiciers from the offshore city of Montpellier were indicatively responsible.

So we are talking about totally different "cultures of taste" here. However, this "culture" was only reserved for the noble elite. We should never forget that these recipes were designed for public dinners; the recommended dishes were written down to impress guests with meals befitting their rank – and not only at weddings or high church holidays. One should add that in the Early Modern Age, spices as a means of social distinction lost their attraction, as pepper, ginger, and saffron became common goods and were used in the kitchens of normal burghers as well as in monasteries and hospitals. As they were "generalized", so to speak, these spices lost their status as an exclusive luxury good. The kitchens of the elite differed from those of the commoners through other attributes: For instance through the wide use of vegetables ... These are observations that can be made with the help of serial analyses of cookbooks of different epochs. We owe these insights mainly to the extraordinary French historian Jean-Louis Flandrin.[20]

Internationality: The Taste of Abroad

Cookbooks were more than just manuals for the noble entertainment of guests and rank-befitting cooking for exalted circles. They allow, as Norbert Höller put it, "access to the 'taste of abroad', meaning that they allow the host to offer his/her guests rare or maybe even unknown meals, food from foreign regions but also food from a foreign social environment".[21] Very popular were Indian and Far Eastern spices – pepper comes from Malabar at the Indian west coast; cardamom, a ginger plant, and cinnamon grow in Southern India and on Sri Lanka; the clove-tree *(myrtacea)*, originally derives from the Northern Moluccas (also known as "Spice Islands"). Malaguetta-pepper originated in Western Africa, while coriander and cumin had their home in the Mediterranean region. The, by far, most expensive spice was saffron *(crocus sativus)*. It was cultivated on the Iberian Peninsula and near L'Aquila in the Abruzzo region. However, there were also attempts of cultivating crocus sativus in Middle Europe; so for instance in the Breisgau near Freiburg, or even until today in the Wallis in Switzerland and in Lower Austria. From the Early Middle

20 Flandrin, La diversité des goûts.
21 Höller, Texte zum Essen, p. 137.

Ages on, another plant was cultivated in Palestine and Syria, later on also in Northern Africa, Cyprus, and Sicily: sugarcane. The incredibly expensive sugar was first used as a pharmaceutical, only from the 13th and 14th century on it was also – in smaller doses – used in kitchens, for instance to spice up meat dishes. It would take too long to tell the whole exciting story of sugar and the geographical shifting of its production locations from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean and finally overseas, to the West Indies.

Far Eastern spices were transported and sold by Arabian long-distance merchants using the harbors in the Levant; Venetians practically had a monopoly on the pepper trade. Through spices, rich and high-ranking Europeans were able to get a grasp of the foreign, the exotic. Those who could afford the expensive spices and who offered them to their guests on a banquet, presented their wealth, while at the same time they let their convives take part in flavourful sensations that created associations of foreign, paradise-like worlds. In the oldest cookbook of the German language, 20 different spices were mentioned – among them local plants like garlic, onion, shallot, and mustard.

Fat Kitchen – Meager Kitchen

Most cookbooks differentiate between fat and meagre cooking – a pair of opposites that needs a special explanation: It is commonly known that the Catholic Church had great influence on wedding and sexuality of its sheep, the laymen. But also concerning the eating traditions, its influence continues until today: Friday is still seen as the fish-day. The church tried to urge laymen into a Christian way of living. Part of that was, of course, the compliance with liturgical periods of fasting and abstinence which anyway was obligatory for monks and nuns.[22] During fast time, which lasted six weeks before Easter, and in the period of the Advent, the consumption of meat was forbidden. Additionally, also milk products like butter and cheese were prohibited. The demand for expensive (because imported) olive oil and nut oil increased, since they were used as substitute for lard and butter. Substituting meat, the importance of fish rose from the 11th century on. Saltwater fish, fish caught in rivers but also carps, pikes, and arctic chars which were bred in artificially

22 Scully, Art of cookery, p. 58–64.

constructed ponds could be found on the menu. Especially monasteries and the nobility excelled because of their investments in pond construction.[23] Respecting the liturgical commandments concerning food, collections of recipes mostly contain two types of meals: meat for "fat days" and fish for "meagre days". However, the cookbook of the Benedictine monastery Mondsee in Upper Austria from the mid-15th century does not list any meat meals at all, in fact the only non-vegetarian food it lists are fish-dishes.[24] A notebook of the Cistercian nunnery Günterstal near Freiburg im Breisgau from about the same period lists, with the exception of poultry, mostly meals containing eggs and pastries.[25] At festive occasions, their refectory dished up pancakes, cheesecake, baked chicken, or, in spring, corn mush. These recipes are not luxurious cuisine but simple meals from a nunnery.

The Distribution of Cookbooks

Finally, some statements should be made concerning the social circles that possessed cookbooks or collections of recipes respectively. Initially, it was mostly the social elite that was able to afford the financial, personnel, and spatial luxury of a high kitchen; part of which were a storage cellar, spacious kitchens, and festival rooms. The medieval high kitchen first developed from the 13th century on, at noble courts, in the time of the booming of international trading relationships and the emergence of many new cities. A rich stratum of burgher merchants – together with the city nobility – formed the social elite of these communes. Soon, the new high kitchen was adapted by wealthy burghers, who, through the long-distance trade, held a pivot point in the development of a new, international culture of eating.

Not by chance the oldest cookbook of the European Middle Ages, written at the end of the 12th century in Arab-dominated Andalusia, is an Arabic manuscript (the so called Colin-Manuscript). It is a witness of the Mediterranean hispano-arabic cuisine. "The oldest cookbook that has been written in a European national language originates from around 1300. This *Harpestraeng*-manuscript, named after the Danish doctor Harpestraeng, is probably a translation of a

23 Hoffmann, Medieval Fishing; Hoffmann, Economic development.
24 Aichholzer, "Wildu machen ayn guet essen"; Fritsch, Refektorium.
25 Mone, Haushalt und Sitten; Rippmann, Alltag und Ernährung, p. 317.

lost French cookbook."[26] There also exist several vernacular French manuscripts from the 14th century; in Catalonia, the *Libre de Sent Sovi* was written during the first half of the 14th century. Of the cookbook *Viandier*, with which the cook Guillaume Tirel, also known as Taillevent, has wrongly been credited, the oldest manuscript was written around 1300. This highly valuable manuscript can be found in the public records in Wallis, Switzerland.[27]

The oldest cookbook written in the German language – *Daz bůch von gůter spise* – was already mentioned; indicatively, it was found together with several medical tractates in the possession of Michael de Leone, who worked as a protonotary at the Episcopal court in Würzburg.

Other late medieval cookbook manuscripts were found in the possession of several families of counts and members of the high nobility; I only mention the manuscript of *Maister Hannsen, des von Wirtenberg koch* ("Master Hans, the cook of the count of Wirtenberg") which is preserved in Basel and was created around 1460. The transcription of the cookbook of Master Eberhard, the kitchen chef of Duke Heinrich XVI of Bavaria-Landshut, is a little younger (written around 1495).

"Cookbook literature" cannot always be seen as one genre; it often incorporates several types of literature as was already suggested. The often quoted cooking recipes of the *Ménagier de Paris* are a special case[28]: The recipes are combined with suggestions where the reader may buy certain goods – fresh fish for instance – on the Paris markets, including prices and quality evaluations. Furthermore, it tells housewives how to raise vegetables in the garden, the potager. These are just small parts of good housekeeping in the household of a member of the smaller nobility in Paris. This work, written around 1390, can be seen as a predecessor of the Hausväterliteratur (literature on how to organise a household), which became highly popular from the 16th century on. Its author, who was 60 years old – possibly Guy de Montigny[29] – wrote it for his 15-year-old wife as a manual for a way of living befitting their rank.[30] Parts of this are – besides gardening, cooking, and the ways of arranging feasts – also hunting and

26 Höller, Texte zum Essen, p. 133.
27 Scully, Viandier of Taillevent.
28 Brereton / Ferrier, Ménagier de Paris.
29 Crossley-Holland, Living and Dining.
30 Redon / Sabban / Serventi, Kochkunst des Mittelalters, p. 49; Zimmermann, Kochkunst im spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich.

falconry. The voluminous book contains a long tractate on falconry. This book is clearly not just a cookbook. It is rather an educational tractate, a didactic scripture with moral-ethical rules of conduct for a woman. That is why it also contains instructive and entertaining short stories like that of Griseldis, a wife who is incredibly submissive to her cruel husband, the count of Saluzzo.

The cookbook only became an autonomous genre through the technology of printing: The first printed cookbook with the title *Kuchimeisterei* (="Kitchen mastery") was published around 1485 in Nuremberg, the largest city of Southern Germany. In France, the famous cookbook *Viandier* was printed in 23 editions between 1486 and 1615![31] Because of the printing technology, cookbooks began to reach a broader audience.

Most cookbooks and collections of recipes were written by men that we would today call master chefs. These wage workers weren't always able to read and write, as the example of the famous Savoy cook Maître Chiquart shows: He had great knowledge of many things but did not write the recipes of his 122-pages manuscript on his own. In 1420, he dictated them to a burgher of the city of Annecy, Jean de Dudens. With that he surrendered to the will of his employer, Duke Amedeo VIII of Savoy. He said: *Finalement, mon très redouté seigneur, ... vaincu et maté ... je consens à votre désir et commandement* ("Finally, my feared master, ... defeated and dead I consent to Your desire and order").[32] He also said that not even one cookbook had served as a sample for his book.

Since even in our days most working hours in the kitchen are performed by women, the question of female authors of cookbooks and recipes arises. We already talked about the notebook of the Cistercians of Günterstal but the first cookbook written by a woman was not published until 1553! That year, the cookbook by Sabina Welserin, a rich burgher of the city of Augsburg, was written;[33] later on, her relative Philippina Welser also compilated a cookbook. In 1591, the coobook by Anna Wecker, the wife of a doctor, was printed.[34]

With this early modern work, I return to the beginning of this lecture: Every good cuisine has to be subordinate to the principle of

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31 Hyman / Hyman, Imprimer la cuisine, p. 643 f.
32 Gillet, Le goût et les mots, p. 45, fn. 46; Scully, Art of cookery, p. 40 f.
33 The text "Kochbuch der Sabina Welser" can be found on the website "Monumenta Culinaria et Diaetetica Historica. Corpus of culinary & dietetic texts of Europe from the Middle Ages to 1800".
34 Wecker, Ein köstlich neu Kochbuch.

a healthy way of living; cooking and medicine are closely related: This is something also realized by Anna Wecker, for she said that her husband wanted to be nursed rather by good cooking than by medicine.

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Claudia Tscherne

Introduction to Cultural Marketing

This text isn't a scientific work, it is the reflection of more than 10 years experience in marketing affairs. It shows aspects of marketing, especially Cultural Marketing and could serve as compendium for cultural institutions to think about their own marketing work and to enlarge their know-how on Cultural Marketing.

Marketing and its challenges

Marketing has to tell a more or less undefined audience about products and services with the aim to convince the audience to buy these products or services. Marketing managers know some aspects about their target groups, but they never really know if they are able to reach these target groups with the measures they carried out.

If somebody deals with marketing, there are some aspects to think about.

- You may tell things people are not interested in
- You will get less feedback
- You cannot count the feedback
- Marketing costs money
- You may be in the wrong place with your marketing ideas
- Your idea is great, but the product isn't working well
- You are not alone on the market
- You make good ads, but they don't follow the targets of the company

Definitions of Marketing are quite numerous. The following one is my personal interpretation: Marketing happens everywhere you get into contact with a possible client. It is no outstanding activity, it is a core task of management and encloses all company units. Therefore marketing isn't only an outgoing process, it includes also the internal

clients. Marketing managers have to optimize all processes – internal and external – to satisfy and support clients.

Aspects of marketing

Marketing measures are changing regularly. The new technologies result in new opportunities to reach the audience, but some things remain the same.

Market and consumers

Every institution/company has a lot of different target groups to integrate in their marketing. For example, a museum's target group are the consumers, pupils, the policy, sponsors, media, artists, employees, volunteers and so on. All these groups are the market and for every group the museum has to do some marketing measures.[1]

Consumer behaviour

Consumer behaviour works like stepping on a stairway and marketers have much work to do to go up the stairway.

Step 1 – the consumer doesn't know anything about the company/institution

Step 2 – the consumer is aware of the company/institution

Step 3 – the consumer is aware of the company's/institution's products or services

Step 4 – the consumer likes the company's/institution's products or services

Step 5 – the consumer prefers the company's/institution's products or services

Step 6 – the consumer is willing to buy the company's/institution's products or services and he is convinced that this purchase will be the right decision

1 Kreutzer, Marketing, p. 5

Step 7 – the consumer purchases a company's/institution's product or service

Competitors

Markets are determined by satiation. Less products or services are really innovative and many competitors try to attract more or less the same consumers. For marketing managers it is very important to know the strongest competitors and to have a look which products they are launching, which price policy they pursue, which marketing activities they plan. Marketing managers should also be aware of their own strengths and weaknesses in comparison with the main competitor. Another aspect which is important, is the question of the main competitor's influence on one's own institution/company. Maybe this main competitor reduces ticket fees for entrance. What would happen to the own institution/company?

Economical Circumstances

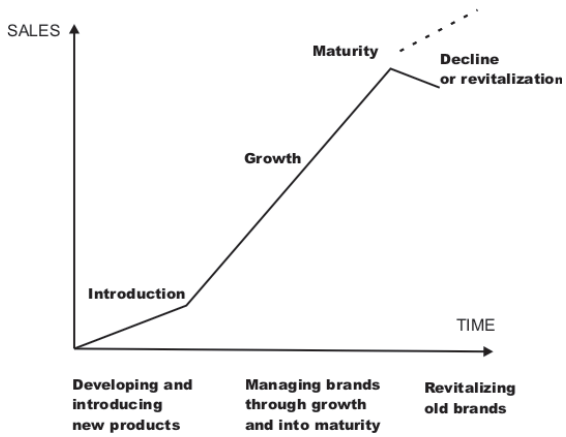
Marketing mangers should be aware of the actual circumstances. As mentioned above, products or services are normally equal, there is less distinction in functional aspects. To stand out from other products and services, institutions/companies try to distinct on an emotional way. They try to create added values for example with an extraordinary design or with outstanding experiences. Sound and Light effects, interactive tools or staged programs are the instruments for product development. The promotion also follows these ideas. Composed photos telling a story, working with strong emotional appeals and strong claims is the business of modern Marketing Management.

Product development

Products and services aren't lasting forever. After launching a product the success increases, but there is a natural upper limit. If the limit has been reached, the development is declining gradually. Marketing managers should have an idea where their own products/services are situated in the head of the consumers. To visualize marketing managers could use economic models like the Product Lifetime Cycle or the Boston Consulting Group Matrix.

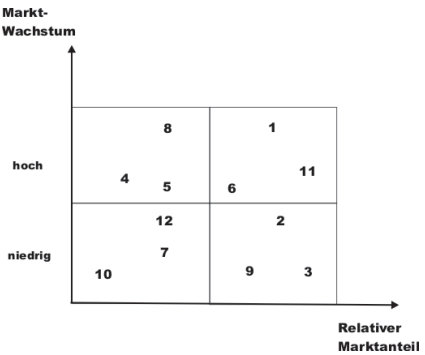
The Product Lifetime Cycle shows the development of a product/service. It shows if marketing managers should think about push-

ing the product/service or if it is time to relaunch the product/service.



Product Life Time Cycle[2]

The Boston Consulting Group Matrix shows the position of the own company's products/services in comparison to the main competitor (benchmark) and in dependence of the market growth. It gives an idea about the status quo and about the prospective development.



Boston Consulting Group Matrix[3]

2 Foxall/Goldsmith/Brown, Consumer Psychology, p. 9
3 Klein, Kultur-Marketing, p. 336 ff.

The 5 Ps of marketing

Marketing experts think that marketing is determined by the 5 Ps.

The traditional 4 Ps are

- Product
- Price
- Promotion
- Place

Another P should be added for

- Professional Processes (quality management)

(Cultural) Products

Cultural products are made for a niche market. Culturally interested consumers are a niche target group of about 5 percent. But these consumers are well educated with higher income. Therefore, cultural products have to be authentic with good service quality. Well educated (expensive) staff is as needed as modern and innovative presentation modes.

Cultural products are often products for groups, not for individual consuming. This is an inhabitation level for purchasing. Well-arranged booking facilities are another key to succeed and of course the quality level has to remain permanently high.

Price for cultural products

Prices are seen as cost-benefit-relation. If the benefit fits to the price, the price also could be high. But the cost-benefit-relation is a very subjective thing. It is influenced by the image of an institution/company, the presentation of products, the service-quality of the staff and maybe other things. Of course price policy must fit to the addressed target group, the economic surrounding of the location and to the company's cost structure. And don't forget the competitors of the institution/company.

Promotion for cultural products

There are many opportunities to promote cultural products. There are the classical opportunities like brochures, ads in media, tv, radio or cinema spots, posters. Then Public Relation like press conferences, press work, sponsoring and lobbying activities. Additionally, there are all possibilities of Web 2.0 and some other things called bellow-the-line acitivities like events, awards and fairs.

Every institution/company should have a mix of promotional activities according to the target groups, budget lines and internal resources. A detailed Marketing-plan based on an analysis will be the best tool for choosing the suitable measures.

Places for cultural products

The places where institutions/companies could do marketing are numerous. The most important thing before placing promotion or marketing activities is to analyse the clients and their behaviours. Marketing always spreads, but the information has to be seen by the right clients.

Therefore, an intense analysis of the clients is a useful tool: thinking about the range of age of clients, which newspapers do the clients read, which tv or radio programs do they watch or listen to, where do they go for relaxing, which cars do they drive, what are their values etc.

After analysing the target group, the right place will be found much easier. And of course there are some possibilities which don't follow the classical way like ads and tv-spots. Maybe an open-air-concert on a well frequented place in the city looking like a spontaneous action is a much better "place" for promoting future concerts in the region.

Professional Processes

Service industry is marked by several interfaces which are necessary to provide good products. Therefore, the interaction between the partners of the service-chain is an important part of the product. The partners could be the employees, the volunteers, the marketers, the sponsors, the media partners, external guides, resellers, the external ticket office and so on. Standards for these processes are indispensable to hold quality. Essential is also a clear price policy. For example

everybody should know about discounts and of course discounts should be fixed.

To install feedback and monitoring systems is also an additional part of marketing. The clients' feedback shows weaknesses, but also strengths. And don't forget the internal feedback and the feedback from suppliers like resellers.

Marketing trends

There are some trends in marketing according to the variety of providers and the declining capacity of clients for marketing-messages. There are some aspects discussed intensely at the moment. Three of them are mentioned below.

Micro marketing

It bases on the idea of getting really close to the target group. The target group is separated again and again to get homogenous markets. For example people who like to listen to classical music are one target group. Under Micromarketing aspects they will be segmented not only into people listening to classical music but also buying classical music CDs more than three times a year, more than 50 years old, living in cities with more than 50.000 inhabitants etc. The advantage is that the target group is getting more homogenous and marketers can reach them more effectively, but the database for doing an analysis like the mentioned one must be very good and detailed. The collection of this database is already one of the challenges.

Storytelling

The idea behind this trend is the knowledge that people like stories. It is like the fairytales in the childhood. The fairytales are stories with messages which should be learned by children - marketers try do to the same because people are not really able to learn abstract messages. But if they hear stories, they will be able to learn better.

Now marketers try to invent stories around their products. This could be a story around a person or a product. One example is the famous singer Anna Netrebko – a beautiful poor Russian lady cleaning the opera-house in Moscow only to be near her beloved music.

Mouth-to-mouth-communication

The influence of opinion-leaders in cultural affairs was always big like that of newspaper critics. Marketers now try to steer opinions with mouth-to-mouth-communication. Persons who are full with enthusiasm about the product should spread this enthusiasm to all their friends with the aim to motivate them to consume the product they have heard of. Marketers nowadays know that the enthusiasm of friends or opinion-leaders couldn't be topped by marketing. The clients believe more in other opinions than in marketing.

Marketing planning

Marketing has to be planned, it is a strategic work influencing all company units. On top of the planning process is the mission, it is defined for a five years period followed by the strategic targets. The strategic targets are defined for a three years period and for a one years period detailed actions should be developed.

The detailed actions are a sort of timetable to proceed to practice. After passing all actions the evaluation and monitoring should cover out if the planned process works well.

Marketing planning process

Step 1 – Market Analysis

Analysis of market trends, circumstances, market potentials, financial and internal resources.

Step 2 – Competitor Analysis

Best competitor analysis (benchmark).

Step 3 – SWOT-Analysis

Analysis of the own strengths, weaknesses and in (combination with step 1 and 2) risks and chances for one's own institution/company.

Step 4 – Positioning / Mission

Answer these questions: Who you are? What you are able to do? What you are willing to do? Whom do you want to address and whom are you able to address?

Step 5 – Strategic targets

Definition of strategic aims (quality and quantity)?

Step 6 – Target group / Markets

Definition of target groups and markets.

Step 7 – Action Planning

Planning and budgeting of concrete actions with timetable and responsible persons.

Step 8 – Controlling / Evaluation

Check the passed actions refering to the targets.

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